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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
S C O T L A N D,

FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNTS OF THAT NATION,
TO THE
REIGN OF KING JAMES VI.

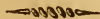


TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF
GEORGE BUCHANAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.



TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,
A Genealogy of all the Kings from Fergus I. to James VI.



SEVENTH EDITION.

REVISED AND CORRECTED FROM THE ORIGINAL,
BY MR. BOND.

EMBELLISHED WITH AN ELEGANT HEAD OF THE AUTHOR,
From an Original Painting in Anderson's Institution in this City.

VOL. II.



GLASGOW,
Printed by Chapman and Lang,



1799.



(A. C. 1437.)

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.



BOOK XI.

JAMES II. *the hundred and third king.*

AFTER the punishment of the parricides, James the only son of the deceased king, as yet scarce entered into the seventh year of his age, began his reign on the 27th day of March, in the abbey of Holyrood-house at Edinburgh. The king being as yet not fit for government, there was a great dispute among the nobles, who should be elected viceroy or regent. Archibald, earl of Douglas, exceeded all the Scots at that time in wealth and power; but Alexander Livingston, and William Crichton, both of them of knightly families, bore the best character in point of authority, and in the fame which they got for their prudence in the administration of affairs in the then late reign. The nobility were unanimously inclined to give these two their votes, because they were jealous of Douglas his power, which was great enough to make even monarchs themselves uneasy at it. Accordingly Alexander Livingston was made regent, and William Crichton chancellor, which office he had borne under the former king. The nobility was scarce gone from the assembly, but presently factions arose: For while the chancellor kept close with the king in the castle of Edinburgh; and the regent with the queen, at Stirling; Douglas, fretting that he was put by in the last assembly, not knowing which faction he hated most, was well pleased to see all things in disorder; so that rather by his connivance, than consent, the men of Annandale, who were always accustomed to thieving and rapine infested all the neighbouring parts, ransacked them, and carried off plunder, as if they had been in an enemy's country. When complaint was made of it to the governors, they sent letters to Douglas to suppress them (knowing that the Annandalis

ans were under his regulation and power) but these not prevailing, they wrote others in a sharper style, to put him in mind of his duty; but he was so far from punishing past offences, that he rather emboldened the offenders, by screening them from punishment; for he gave forth a command, that none of them should obey the king's officers if they summoned them into courts of justice, or performed any other act of magistracy; in regard, as he alleged, that this exemption was a privilege granted to him (they commonly call it Regale, or Royalty) by former kings; and that if any one should go about to infringe it, it should cost him his life.

The regent and the chancellor did bewail the state of things, but they could not rectify it; so that the gangrene spread farther and farther, and soon infected all those parts of Scotland which lay within the Forth. And they themselves also disagreed, inso-much that proclamations were publicly made in market towns and villages, by Alexander, that no man should pay obedience to the chancellor; and by the chancellor, that none should obey Alexander. And if a man addressed himself to either of them, to complain of any wrongs, he was sure, at his return, to meet with severe treatment from the men of the contrary faction; and matters were now and then carried with so high a hand, that the complainant had his house fired about his ears, and was ruined to all intents and purposes; so that both parties went beyond the length of hostile fury, in their mutual butcheries of one another. But the good men, who had joined neither faction, not knowing well what to do, kept close at home, privately bewailing the deplorable state of their country. Thus, whilst every party sought to strengthen itself, the public was neglected, and stood as it were in the midst, forsaken and abandoned by every body.

The queen who was with the regent at Stirling, in order considerably to strengthen her party, performed an attempt both bold and manly. For she undertook a journey to Edinburgh, under pretence of visiting her son, and so was admitted into the castle by the chancellor. There she was courteously entertained, and, after some compliments had passed, her discourse turned upon a lamentation of the present state of the kingdom. She made a long oration about the many and great mischiefs that flowed from this public discord, as from a fountain of ills; and signified, That, for her part, she had alwas endeavoured to compose all differences so, as if they could not attain to a perfect tranquillity, they might, however, have some face of a civil government. But, seeing she could not prevail, either by her authority or counsel, to do any good abroad, and in a public manner, she was now come to try what she could do privately; for she was resolved to try her utmost, that her son, who was the hopes of the kingdom, should have a pious and a liberal education; that so, in time, he might be

able to apply some remedy to these spreading evils. And, seeing this was a motherly care implanted in her by nature, she hoped it would procure to her the envy of nobody: That, as for other parts of the government, she desired they might take it, who thought they were fit to manage and undergo so great a burden; but yet, that they would manage it so, as to remember, that they were to give an account to the king, when he came of age.

This harangue she made with a countenance so composed, that the chancellor was fully convinced of her sincerity; neither did he discover any thing in her train of followers, which gave him the least hint to suspect either fraud or force; so that hereupon he gave her free admission to her son when she pleased; and they were often alone together, and sometimes she staid with him all night in the castle. In the mean time, the artful woman frequently discoursed the governor about making up of matters between the parties; and she called also some of the contrary faction to the conferences; and thus she insinuated herself so far into the man, that he communicated freely with her touching almost all his affairs.

Having thus gained the chancellor, she easily persuades the young king to follow her, as the author of his liberty, out of this prison, and so to deliver himself out of the hands of a person who used the royal name for a cloke to his wickedness; who had monopolized all public offices to himself; and neglecting the good of the public, had highly advanced his own particular fortune. To bring this happily to pass, she told him there wanted only a will in him to hearken to the good counsel of his friends; and as for other matters, he might leave them to her care and management. By such kind of speeches, she, being his mother, and a sharp woman, easily persuaded him, who was her son, and but a youth, to put his whole trust and confidence in her; especially, seeing a freer condition of life was proposed to him.

Accordingly she, having prepared all things for their flight, went to the chancellor, and told him, that she would stay that night in the castle, but early in the morning she was to go to * White-kirk (that was the name of the place) to perform a vow which she had made for the safety of her son, and in the mean time, commended him to his care, till she returned. He suspecting no deceit in her words, wished her a good journey and a safe return, and so parted from her.

Hereupon (as was agreed before) the king was put into a chest, wherein she was wont to put her woman's furniture, and, the day after, carried by faithful servants out of the castle to the sea-side at Leith. The queen followed after with a few attendants, to prevent all suspicion: There, a ship lying ready to receive them,

* Situate below Linton-bridge, on the Tyne, in East Lothian.

they went aboard, and, with a fair gale, made for Stirling. The king's servants waited late in the morning, expecting still when he would awake, and arise out of bed; so that, before the fraud was detected, the ship was quite out of danger, and the wind was so favourable, that before the evening, they landed at Stirling. There the king and queen were received with great joy and mighty acclamations of the regent, and of all the promiscuous multitude. The craft of the queen was commended by all, and the great fame for wisdom which the chancellor had obtained, became now to be a ridicule, even to the vulgar. This rejoicing and thanksgiving of the populace lasted (as is usual) two days, and was celebrated with general shouts and acclamations of joy.

The third day, those of Alexander's faction came in, some out of new hopes, others invited by authority of the king's name; to whom, when the series of the project was declared in order; the courage of the queen, in undertaking the matter; her wisdom in carrying it on; and her happiness in effecting it, were extolled to the skies. The avarice, and universal cruelty of the chancellor, and especially his ingratitude to the queen and regent, were highly inveighed against. He was accused as the only author of all the disorders, and consequently of all the mischiefs arising from thence; moreover, that he had converted the public revenue to his own use; that he had violently seized on the estates of private persons, and what he could not carry away, he spoiled; that he alone had all the wealth, honour, and riches, when others were pining in ignominy, solitude, and want; these grievances, though great, yet were like to be seconded with more oppressive ones, unless, by God's aid and counsel, the queen had, no less valiantly than happily, freed the king out of prison, and so delivered others from the chancellor's tyranny; for, if he kept his king in prison, it was evident what private men might fear and expect from him. What hope could there ever be, that he would be reconciled to his adversaries, who had so perfidiously circumvented his friends? And how could the inferior sort expect relief from him, whose insatiable avarice, all their estates were not able to satisfy? And therefore, since by God's help, in the first place, and next, by the queen's sagacity, they were freed from his tyranny, all courses were to be taken that this joy might be perpetual: And to make it so, there was but one way, which was to pull the man, as it were, by the ears, out of his castle, that nest of tyranny; and either to kill him, or in such a manner to disarm him, that, for the future, he should not have the ability of doing them any more mischief; though (said they) merely disarming him was not a very safe way, because such a savage as he, who had been accustomed to blood and rapine, would never be at quiet so long as the breath was in his body.

This was the purport of Alexander's discourse in council, to

whom all did assent; so that an order was made, that every one should go home, and levy what force they could to besiege the castle of Edinburgh, from which they were not to depart till they had taken it. And that this might be accomplished with the greater facility, the queen promised to send thither a great quantity of provision which she had in her store-houses in Fife; but dispatch was the main thing to be consulted at that juncture, while their counsels were yet private, and the enemy had no warning to provide things fit and necessary for a siege: And in the interim, they had no room to apprehend any thing from Douglas, who was, they knew, a mortal enemy to the chancellor; so that now, as they had all the power, treasure enough, and likewise the authority of the king's name (that being now taken from the chancellor) he could have no hope, no other resource, but to put himself upon their mercy.

Thus, the assembly being dissolved, all things were speedily provided for the expedition, and a close siege laid to the castle. The chancellor was acquainted well enough with their designs, but he placed the greatest hope of his safety, and of maintaining his dignity, in bringing over Douglas to concur with him in his defence.

For this end he sent humble suppliants to him, to acquaint him, ‘ That he would always be at his devotion if he would aid
‘ him in his present extremity; urging, that he was deceived if
‘ he thought that their cruelty would rest in the destruction of
‘ himself alone; but that they would make his overthrow as a
‘ step to destroy Douglas too.’

Douglas answered his message with more freedom than advantage, viz. ‘ That both Alexander and William were equally
‘ guilty of perfidiousness and avarice, and that their falling out
‘ was not for any point of virtue, or for the good of the public,
‘ but for their own private advantages, animosities, and feuds;
‘ and that it was no great matter which of them had the better
‘ in the dispute; nay, if they fell both in the contest, the public
‘ would be a great gainer by it; and that no good man would desire to see a happier sight, than two such fencers hacking and
‘ hewing one another.”

This answer being noised abroad in both armies (for the castle was already besieged) was the occasion of a peace being sooner clapt up, than any one thought was possible. A truce was made for two days, and Alexander and William had a meeting, where they debated it together, how dangerous it would be, both for their public and their private estates too, if they should persist in their hatred, even to a battle; insomuch as Douglas did but watch the event of the combat, that he might come fresh, and fall upon the conqueror, and by that politic means at-

tract all the power of the kingdom to himself, when either one of them was slain, or both weakened and broken; and therefore the hopes of both their safeties were placed in their common and mutual agreement. Thus the threatening dangers easily reconciled those two, who were, upon all other accounts, prudent enough. William, according to agreement, gave up the keys of the castle to the king, professing, That both himself, and it, were at his service; and that he never entertained any other thought than that of obedience to the king's will. Upon this profession he was received into favour with the universal assent of all that were present. The king supped that night in the castle, thus surrendered to him, and the next day, the government of the castle was bestowed on William, and the regency on Alexander. Thus, after a deadly hatred between them, it was hoped, that for ever after, the foresight of their mutual advantage, and the fear of their common enemy, had bound them up in one firm and indissoluble knot of friendship.

After these civil broils between the factions were composed; besides robberies, and the murders of some of the common sort, which were committed in many places, without punishment, there were some remaining feuds, which broke out between some noble families. The year after the king's death, on the 21st of September, Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock had treacherously slain Allan Stuart of Darnly in a truce, as he met him between Linlithgow and Falkirk. The next year after, on the 9th of July, Alexander, Allan's brother, with his party, fought Thomas, where many were slain on both sides, their numbers being almost equal; and, amongst the rest, Thomas himself fell.

The death of Archibald Douglas happened very opportunely at this time, because, in his life-time, his power was universally formidable. He died of a fever, the next year after the death of James I. His son William succeeded him, being the sixth earl of that family; he was then in the fourteenth year of his age, a young man of great hopes, if his education had been answerable to his ingenuity. But *flattery, which is the perpetual pest of great families*, corrupted his tender age, puffed up by entering so soon on his estate. For such men as were accustomed to idleness, and who made a gain of the folly and indiscretion of the rich, did magnify his father's magnificence, power, and almost more than royal retinue; and, by this means, they easily persuaded a plain, simple disposition, unarmed against such temptations, to maintain a great family, and to ride abroad with a train beyond the state of any other nobleman; so that he kept his old vassals about him, in their former offices, and obtained also new, by his profuse largesses; he also made knights and senators, and so distinguished

the order and degrees of his attendants, as to imitate the public conventions of the kingdom: in fine, he omitted nothing which might equal the majesty of the king himself. Such gallantries were enough to create suspicions of themselves; but good men were also much troubled for him upon another account, that he would often go abroad with 2000 horse in his train, amongst whom some were notorious malefactors and thieves, and many of them worthy of death; yet with these he would come to court, and even into the king's presence, not only to shew his power, but even to strike terror into the hearts of others. This his insolence was further heightened, by his sending some eminent persons as his ambassadors into France, viz. Malcolm Fleming, and John † Lauder, who declaring how much his ancestors had merited of the kings of France, easily obtained for him the title of Duke of Tours; an honour which had been conferred on his grandfather by Charles VII. for his great services performed in the wars; and his father enjoyed it after him. Grown proud by this accession of grandeur, he undervalued the regent and the chancellor too, being, as he alleged, his father's enemies; neither did he much stand in awe of the king himself. For these causes, the power of the Douglasses seemed too exorbitant; and over and above all this, a further cause of suspicion was added.

William Stewart had a large patrimony in Lorn; his brother James, after the king's death, had married the queen, and had children by her; but very haughtily resenting that he was admitted to no share in the administration, to the end he might more easily obtain what he desired, and revenge his concealed grief, he seemed well inclined to Douglas his faction; and it was thought, that the queen was not ignorant of his design: for she also took it amiss, that the regent had not rewarded her merits as she expected. On account of these suspicions, the queen, her husband, and her husband's brother, were committed to prison the second of August, in the year of our Lord The queen was shut up in a chamber narrow enough indeed of itself, but yet even there she was diligently and watchfully guarded: for the rest, they were laid in irons in the common prison, and were not freed till in an assembly of noblemen, held the 31st of August, the queen had cleared herself from being any way privy to these new plots; and James and his brother had given in sureties that they would act nothing against the regent; and that they would not take any part in the government without his consent.

Amidst this uncertainty of affairs, the Western Islanders made a descent upon the continent, and wasted all with fire and sword, without distinction of age or sex, so that their avarice and cruelty

† Or Lothar, a great and ancient family in Lothian.

was not to be paralleled by any example: neither were they contented to prey only upon the sea-coast, but they also slew John Colchoun, a noble person in Lennox, having called him out from Inch-merin, in the Loch Lomond, to a conference, and after having publicly plighted their faith for his security: this was done the 23d of September. Many foul offences of this nature were committed; so that partly on the account of want of tillage, and partly of unseasonable weather, provisions came to be very dear; and moreover there was a pestilence for two years, so dreadful and fierce, that they who were visited with it died within the space of a day. The vulgar ascribed the cause of all these calamities to the regent; for matters succeeding prosperously with him, he despised the chancellor, and the nobles of that faction, and brought the administration of all things within the compass of his own power. Complaints were made against him, that he caused noble and eminent persons to be imprisoned upon light and ungrounded suspicions, and afterward inflicted upon them very heavy and unwarrantable punishments; and that he gave indemnity to those, who were really guilty, merely according to his own arbitrary will and pleasure; and that he held secret correspondence with Douglas. The chancellor could not bear these things with patience, nor pass them over in silence; neither was he able to prevent them by force; and therefore he suppressed his anger for the present, and resolved to leave the court. And accordingly, upon the first opportunity, he left the king and the regent at Stirling, and with a great train of followers came to Edinburgh; and there he fixed himself in that strong castle, being intent and vigilant in all occasions of change which might occur.

When this matter was noised abroad, it excited envy against the regent because of his power; and procured favour to the chancellor, because of his retirement: Neither did William neglect his opportunity to make advantage of these feuds: for he resolved, by some bold attempt, to curb the insolence of his adversary, and to remove the contempt he had cast upon him. And therefore, having understood by his spies, that the king went every day a hunting, and was slightly guarded, watching the season when Alexander was absent, and having made sufficient enquiry into the conveniency of the country, the fitness of the time, and the certain number of the guards, he chose out a fit place not far from Stirling, where the faithfulest of his friends, with what force they could make, should meet and wait for his coming: And he, with a few horse, lodged himself in a wood near the castle of Stirling before day, and there waited for the king's coming; neither did providence fail him in this bold attempt. The king came into the wood early in the morning, with a small train, and those unarmed too; and so he fell among the armed troops

of the chancellor; they saluted him as king according to custom, and bid him to *be of good cheer, and take courage*. The chancellor, in as few words as the time would permit, advised him to provide for himself and the kingdom, and to deliver himself out of Alexander's prison, that so he might live hereafter at liberty, and as a king; and might not accustom himself to fulfil the lusts and dictates of other men; but might, himself, lay those commands, which were just and equal, upon others; and so might free all his subjects from their present misery, which they had been plunged into by the ambition and lust of their subordinate governors, and that so deeply, that there could be no remedy found for them, unless the king himself would undertake the government; and this he might easily do without peril or pain: For he himself had provided a good body of horse near at hand, who would attend him to what fit place soever he would go. The king seemed by his countenance to approve of what he had said: Either that he really thought so; or else, that he dissembled his fear. Whereupon the chancellor took his horse's bridle in his hand, and led him to his own men: They which were with the king, being few, and unarmed, not able to encounter so many men, returned back in great sadness. Thus the king came to Edinburgh, guarded with 4000 armed men, where he was received by the commonalty with great demonstrations of joy.

After the regent heard of what was done, his mind was confounded betwixt anger and shame, insomuch that he returned to Stirling, to consider what was most advisable in the case. His great spirit was mightily troubled to see himself so childishly deluded by his own negligence; he suspected it was done by the fraud and connivance of his own followers; and thus he stood long wavering whom to trust, and whom to fear; shame, anger and suspicion, reigned alternately in his mind. At length he took a little heart, and began to bethink himself what remedy to apply to his present misfortune. He knew that his own strength was not sufficient against the chancellor, a man politic in counsel, and strong in force; and besides, he had the favour of the people, and the authority of the king's name to support him. As for the queen, he had so offended her by her close imprisonment, that she was hardly ever like to be reconciled to him; and if she was, he had no great confidence in her assistance. And for Douglas, it is true, he had strength enough, but no prudence; his age was tender; his mind infirm; he was corrupted by flatteries, and swayed by the persuasions of others; and (as in such circumstances it usually falls out) the worst of men could do most with him, and therefore he thought it below his dignity to have any thing to do with such a rascality of men: But the chancellor, though he was of a contrary faction to him, yet was a

wise man, and his age and disposition might more safely be trusted; neither was the cause of offence between them so great, but that it was superable by their ancient offices of respect one to another; but the greatest likelihood of their reconciliation was grounded upon the similitude of their danger, and their joint consent to maintain the safety of the commonwealth. Besides the enmity of the chancellor was what was most of all to be dreaded; for if he joined the other factions, he had power in his hands either to reduce or banish him. Having pondered upon these things in his mind, for some days, and communicated them to some of his most familiar friends, good men, and lovers of their country, by their advice, he took an ordinary train of attendants, and went to Edinburgh.

It happened that the bishops of Aberdeen and Murray were then there; men, according to the judgment of those days, highly advanced both in learning and virtue. By their means and intercession, the regent and chancellor had a meeting in St. Giles's church, with some few of their friends on each side.

The regent first began to speak;

"I think it not necessary (says he) to make a long discourse in bewailing those things, which are too well known to all, or in reckoning up the mischiefs arising from intestine discords, and the benefits springing from concord; I wish we might experience those miseries rather by foreign than domestic examples; I will then come to those things which concern the public safety of all the people; and, next to theirs, our own, most of all, This disagreement betwixt us, ariseth neither from covetousness, nor from ambition to rule; but because, in the administration of public affairs, which both of us wish well to, we are not of one mind, but take different measures; yet we are to take great care, lest this our dissension should be publicly prejudicial to the kingdom, or privately injurious to ourselves. The eyes of all men are upon us two: Wicked persons propose to themselves a licentiousness to do any thing, when we are destroyed; and ambitious ones think then also, to obtain an opportunity to get wealth and power; and besides, we have a great many maligners and enviers, *as usually men newly raised up to the highest dignity are wont to have.* All these, as they repine at our successes, and caluminate our prosperity, so they willingly receive the news of our adversity, as thereby hoping, and wishing for our ruin; and therefore it will be worth both our labours, to consult our own safety, which is closely interwoven with that of the public, and so to revenge ourselves on our enemies and detractors, as may redound to our great glory and praise. The only way to accomplish those ends, is this, that we forget our private injuries, and contribute all our thoughts

“ and counsels for the good of the public; remembering, that
“ the king’s safety is committed to our care, and so is also the
“ safety of the kingdom; yet so, that we are both liable to an ac-
“ count. And therefore, as heretofore we have been to blame
“ in contending which of us should be the greater in honour and
“ authority; so, for the future, let our contest be, which shall ex-
“ ceed the other in moderation and justice: and, by this means,
“ we shall bring it to pass, that the commonalty, who now hate
“ us, and impute all their calamities to us, will be reconciled to,
“ and revere us again. The nobility, who, upon our disunion,
“ have launched forth into the most unwarrantable excesses, may
“ be brought back to a due sense of moderation; and the more
“ powerful sort, who despise us, as weakened by division, may
“ stand in awe of us, when united and reconciled, and so behave
“ themselves towards us with greater sobriety than ever. As for
“ me, I willingly give up the tender age of the king to be model-
“ led and governed by you, as his father, in his lifetime, appoint-
“ ed; for as often as I seriously think of that service, I judge my-
“ self rather to be eased of a burden, than despoiled of honour:
“ If I have received any private injury from you, I freely for-
“ give it for the sake of the public; and if I have done you any
“ wrong, let honest arbitrators adjust the damage, and I will
“ make you satisfaction to the full; and I will take special care
“ that such shall be my behaviour for the future, that neither
“ my losses nor advantages, shall put the least stop to the pub-
“ lic prosperity. And if you are of the same mind, we may
“ both of us rest secure for the present, and also leave our me-
“ mories more grateful to posterity; but if you think otherwise,
“ I call all men to witness, both here and hereafter, that it is
“ not my fault, that the evils under which we now labour,
“ are not either fully cured, or, at least, in some sort relieved
“ and mitigated.”

To this the chancellor replied;

“ As I unwillingly entered upon this stage of contention, so
“ I am very willing to hear any mention made of an honourable
“ agreement: For as I did not take up arms before the injuries
“ I suffered, provoked me; so your modesty hath urged me not to
“ suffer the public to be damaged by my pertinaciousness. For
“ I see, as well as you, by this our discord, that good men are ex-
“ posed to the injuries of the bad; in the mind of the seditious
“ are excited hopes of innovation; our country is left for a prey;
“ the kingly dignity is lessened; public safety betrayed; autho-
“ rity bearded and ridiculed, even by the meanest of the people.
“ And whilst we thus betray the safety of the public, our private
“ affairs are in no better posture. In the mean time, men, who
“ are given to sedition, make advantage of our discords; and our

“ enemies behold them as a pleasant sight, (for they hate us both alike), and if the loss fall on either of us, yet they count themselves gainers by what either of us shall lose: and therefore I will not repeat the causes of our feuds, lest I make old sores bleed afresh; but in short, I declare, that I forgive all private wrongs and injuries, upon the score of my country; for there never was, nor shall be, any thing that I prefer to the safety of the people, and the good of the commonwealth.”

Those who were present, did highly commend both their resolutions; and so, by joint consent, arbiters were chosen to compose differences; and, to the great joy of all, old discords were plucked up by the roots, and new foundations of amity laid; and thus they, by joint counsel, again undertake the management of the kingdom. After this concord, an assembly of the estates was held at Edinburgh. Thither came not a few persons, as is usual, but even whole clans and tenantries (as if they had removed their habitations) to complain of the wrongs they had sustained; and indeed, the sight of such a miserable company could not be entertained without deep affliction of spirit, every one making his woful moan, according to his circumstances; that robbers had despoiled fathers of their fathers; widows of their husbands; and all, in general of their estates. Whereupon, after commiseration of the sufferers, the envy as is usual, and reflection was carried to, and fixed upon, the captains of those thieves, whose offences were so impudent, that they could in no ways be suffered; and their faction was so far diffused, that no man was able to defend his life or fortune, unless he was of their party; yea, their power was so great, that the authority of the magistrate could afford little help to the poorer and weaker sort against their violence and force. Wherefore the wiser sort of counsellors were of opinion. That, seeing their power was insuperable by plain force, it was best to undermine it by degrees. They all knew well enough, that the earl of Douglas was the fountain of all those calamities, yet no man durst name him publicly: and therefore the regent, dissembling his anger for the present, persuaded the whole assembly, That it was more advisable for them to keep the peace with Douglass, at present, than to irritate him by suspicions: for he had so great a power, that he alone, if he remained refractory, was able to hinder the execution of the decrees of all the estates; but if he joined in with the assembly, then he might easily heal the present mischiefs.

In pursuance of this advice, a decree was made, that letters of compliment, in the name of the estates, should be sent to him, to put him in mind of the place he held, and of the great and illustrious merits of his ancestors, for the advantage of their country; and withal, to desire him to come to the public as-

sembly of the estates, which could not well be held without the presence of him and his friends. If he had any complaint to make in the assembly, they would give him all the satisfaction they were able to do; and if he or his friends had done any thing prejudicial to the public, in respect to his noble family, which had so often deserved well of their country, they were ready to remit many things upon the account of his age, of the times, of his own person, and the great hopes conceived of him. And therefore they desired that he would come and undertake what part of the public government he pleased; for, inasmuch as Scotland had often been delivered from great dangers by the arms of the Douglasses, they hoped that, by his presence, he would, at this juncture, strengthen and relieve his country which laboured under intestine evils.

The young man, whose age and disposition made him covetous of glory, was taken with the bait; and his friends added their persuasions. For they were all blinded by their particular hopes; so that their minds were turned from all apprehension of danger, to the sole consideration of their several advantages. When the chancellor heard that he was on his journey, he went out several miles to meet him, and gave him a friendly invitation to his castle, which was near the road (it was called Crichton) where he was magnificently entertained for the space of two days; in which time the chancellor shewed him all imaginable respect, that he might the more easily entrap the unwary young man. For, to shew that his mind was no way alienated from him, he began, in a familiar manner, to persuade him to be mindful of the king's dignity, and of his own duty; that he should own him for his liege lord, whom right of birth, the laws of the country, and the decree of the estates, had advanced to the sovereignty; that he should transmit the great estate, which his ancestors had got by their blood and valour, to his posterity, in like manner as he had received it; and also the name of the Douglasses, which was illustrious for their loyalty and achievements, free from the horrid stain, and even from all suspicion of treason; that he and his tenants should forbear oppressing the poor common people; that he should put all robbers out of his service; and, for the future, maintain the laws of justice in so inviolable a manner, that if he had offended heretofore, it might be easily attributed to the ill counsel of bad men, and not to the depravity of his own nature; for, in that tender and infirm age, his repentance would pass for innocence. By these and the like speeches, he persuaded the young man that he was his entire friend, and so drew him on to Edinburgh, with David his brother, who was privy to all his projects and designs. But his followers had some suspicion of deceit, by

reason of the frequent messages that came from Alexander the regent; for expresses were flying to and fro every moment; and besides, the chancellor's speech seemed more dissembling and flattering, than was usual for one of his place and dignity. All the earl's followers muttered this secretly among themselves, and some freely told him, "That if he was resolved to go on, yet he ought to send back David his brother, and (according to his father's advice to him, on his death-bed) not to lay his whole family open to one stroke of fortune." But the improvident youth was angry with his friends that had thus advised him, and caused a kind of proclamation to be made among all his followers, that not a whisper of that kind should be heard among them. To his more particular friends he made answer, "That he knew well enough, that it was the common plague of great families, to be troubled with men who loved to be restless and uneasy, and who made a gain of the dangers and miseries of their patrons: And that such men, because, in time of peace, they were bound up by laws, were the authors and advisers to sedition, that so they might fish the better in troubled waters; but, for his part, he had rather trust his person to the known prudence of the regent and chancellor, than give ear to the temerity and madness of seditious persons." Having spoken these words, to cut off any occasion of further advice in the case, he set spurs to his horse, and with his brother, and a few more of his best confidants, hastened to the castle, with more speed than is usual in an ordinary march; and so, fate drawing him on, he precipitated himself into the snares of his enemies.

In that very moment of time, the regent came in too, for so it was agreed, that the whole weight of so great envy might not lie on one man's shoulders only. Douglas was kindly received, and admitted to the king's table; but in the midst of the feast, some armed men beset him, quite defenceless as he was, and put a bull's head upon him, which, in those times, was a messenger and sign of death. When the young man saw that, he was troubled and went to rise from his seat, but the armed men seized him, and carried him to a court near the castle; where he paid for the intemperance of his youth, with the loss of his head. David his brother, and Malcolm Fleming, whom, next to his brother, he trusted most of all, were also put to death with him. It is said, that the king, who was then grown up to a youth, wept for his death; and that the chancellor rebuked him mightily for his unseasonable tears at the destruction of an enemy; whereas the public peace was never like to be settled, as long as he was alive. William dying thus without children, James (surnamed Crassus, or the Gross, from his disposition) succeeded him in the earl-

dom, (for it was a *male-fee*, as lawyers speak) the rest of his patrimony, which was very great, fell to his only sister, Beatrix, a very beautiful person in her days. This James, the Gross, though he was no bad man, yet he was no less suspected by the king, and hated by the commons, than the former earl; because, though he did not maintain robbers, as the former earl had done; yet he was not very zealous in subduing them; but he was delivered from this state of envy, by his death, which happened two years after.

William, the eldest of his seven sons, succeeded him, and being emulous of the ancient power of the family, that he might restore it to its pristine splendor, resolved to marry his uncle's daughter, who was the heiress of many countries: Several of his kindred did not approve of the match, partly because it was an unusual, and by consequence an unlawful thing; and partly, because, by the accession of so much wealth, he would be envied by the people, and also formidable to the king. For a rumour was spread abroad, and that not without ground, that the king himself would do his utmost to hinder the match. This made William hasten the consummation of the marriage, even within the time when marriages are prohibited, that he might prevent the king's endeavours to the contrary. Thus having obtained great wealth, he grew insolent, and envy followed his insolence, in regard troops of robbers did swarm every where, whose captains were thought to be no strangers to Douglas's design. Amongst them there was one John Gormac of Athol, who pillaged all the country about him, and set upon William Ruthen, sheriff of Perth, because he was leading a thief of Athol to the gallows, and fought with him, as it were in a battle. At last Gormac the captain, and thirty of his followers were slain, and the rest fled to the mountains. This skirmish happened in the year of Christ 1443.

A few days after, the castle of Dumbarton, impregnable by force, was twice taken in a little time: Robert Semple was commander of the lower castle, and Patrick Galbreath of the higher, and their government was so divided, that each had a peculiar entrance into his own part. These two were not free from factions amongst themselves: For Patrick was thought secretly to favour the Douglasses. Whereupon Semple, perceiving that his part was but negligently guarded, seized him, and commanded him to remove his goods. The day after, Patrick entered with four companions attending him, without arms, to fetch out his goods; where first, he lights upon the porter alone, and then, seizing some arms, drove him and the rest out of the upper castle; and thus, sending for aid out of the neighbouring town, he beat them out of the lower castle also, and so reduced the whole fort into his own hands.

About that time there were very many murders committed

upon the inferior sort; which were partly perpetrated by the Douglassians, and partly charged upon them by their enemies. The king being now of age, and managing the government himself, Douglas, being unable to stand against the envy of the nobles, and the complaints of the commons too, resolves to become a new man, to satisfy the people, and, by all means possible, to win back the heart of the king, which was alienated from him; and, in order thereunto, he came with a great train to Stirling. And, when he had intelligence by some courtiers, whom he had bribed and made his own, that the king's anger was appeased towards him, then, and not before, he came into his presence, and laid down his life and fortune at his feet, and submitted and left them all to his disposal. He partly excused the crimes of his former life, and partly (because that seemed the readier way to reconciliation) he ingenuously confessed them; withal affirming, that whatever fortune he should have hereafter, he would ascribe it solely to the clemency of the king, not to his own innocency; but if the king would be pleased to receive satisfaction from him, by his services and obsequiousness, he would do his utmost endeavour for the future, that no man should be more loyal and observant of his duty than himself; and that, in restraining and punishing all those exorbitant offences which his enemies cast upon him, none should be more sharp and severe than he; in regard he was descended from that family, which was not raised by oppressing the poor, but by defending the commons of Scotland by their arms. By this oration of the earl's, and the secret commendation of the courtiers, the king was so changed, that he forgave him all the crimes of his former life, and received him into the number of his favourites, and communicated all his secret designs to him.

And indeed the earl, in a very little time, had so obliged the king by his obsequious carriage; and had won so much on his ministers by his liberality; nay, had so ingratiated himself with all men by his modest and courteous condescension; that the ordinary sort of people conceived great hope of his gentle and pliable deportment; but the wiser were somewhat afraid, whither so sudden a change of manners would tend: And especially Alexander Livingston and William Crichton, imagining that all his counsels would tend to their destruction, having resigned their places, retired each of them from court, Alexander to his own estate, and William into the castle of Edinburgh, there to watch and observe, where the dissimulation of Douglas would end. Nor were these men of penetration out in the opinion they had entertained; for Douglas, having gotten the king alone, and destitute of graver counsel, and who was somewhat unwary too, by reason of the inexperience of his years, thought now that he had a fit opportunity

to revenge the deaths of his kinsmen; and so easily persuaded the king to send for William Crichton and Alexander Livingston, with his two sons Alexander and James, to give him a legal account of the administration of their former offices. His design herein was, if they came to court, to bring them under by the power of his faction; but if they refused to come, then to declare them public enemies; and so, having the authority of the king's name, as a pretence for his power, to sequester their estates. Hereupon they were summoned to appear, but returned answer by letters, "That they had never any thing more prevalent and superior in their thoughts, than the good of the king and kingdom; and that they had so managed their offices, that they desired nothing more than to give up a full account, provided it was before impartial judges; but, for the present, they desired to be excused, in regard they perceived, that the minds of those who were to be their judges, were prepossessed with the favours and bribes of their enemies; and besides all passages were beset with armed men; not that they shunned a legal hearing, but only withdrew from the violence of their mortal enemies at the present, and reserved their lives for better times, till the commanders of thieves being driven from the king's presence as they had often been in doubtful times before, they might then justify and assert their innocency to the king and all good men."

When this answer was received, in a convention which was held at Stirling, the fourth day of November, Douglas carried the matter so, that they were declared public enemies, and their goods confiscated. And then he sends out John Froster* of Corstorphin, his confident, with forces to ravage their lands†; and bring their goods into the king's exchequer. He took in their castles by surrender; part of them he demolished, and into part he put new garrisons; and thus making mighty waste, without any resistance he carried off a very considerable booty. The Douglassians had scarce retired, before Crichton had gathered an army of his friends and vassals, sooner than was expected; and with them he over-ran the lands of the Foresters, and of the Douglasses, even as far as Corstorphin, Strabrock‡, Abercorn, and Blackness. He burnt their houses, spoiled their corn, and brought away as much of the plunder as he was able; and, amongst the rest, a stately breed of mares: and thus he did his enemy much more mischief than he received. Douglas, knowing that Crichton had done this by the assistance of others, rather than his own force, turns

* Or Forester.

† In Mid Lothian, two miles west of Edinburgh.

‡ A town on the river Brock, in West Lothian, a castle standing on a rock, lying near the frith of Forth above Abercorn.

his anger upon his friends, who, he was informed, had sent him aid privately, for few durst do it openly. The chief of them were James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrews, George earl of Angus, John earl of Morton; both the latter of Douglas's own family; but one born of the king's aunt, the mother of James Kennedy; the other had married the king's sister. These persons did always prefer the public safety, and the duty incumbent upon them to preserve it, before all private respects to their families. But Kennedy exceeded the rest in age, counsel, and consequently in authority; and therefore the adversary's wrath was principally incensed against him: Whereupon the earl of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvie raised a sufficient body of men, and destroyed his lands in Fife; and, having a greater eye to the plunder, than they had to the cause, they ransacked the neighbouring farms into the bargain; and then, without any opposition, returned into Angus, laden with spoil. In this case, Kennedy betook himself to his proper church-arms; and, because Crawford would not answer in court, he laid him under ecclesiastical censures; which Crawford despised, according to his wonted contumacy: But a little while after, he was justly punished for his contempt of all laws, human and divine. For, the same year these things were acted, the college of the Benedictines, at Aberbrothick, (because it was not for monks to intermeddle, and set themselves up for judges in civil causes) had made Alexander Lindsay, eldest son of the earl of Crawford, their chief judge in civils, or, as they call him, sheriff or bailiff. He, with his huge train of followers, became burdensome to the monastery; and besides, he carried himself as their master, rather than their bailiff; so that they dispossessed him of his office, and put Alexander Ogilvie in his place: Lindsay looked upon this as a wrong done to him; which made each of them gather together what force they could, as if a war had been declared between them. When both armies stood in a readiness to fight, the earl of Crawford, having notice of it, made all haste he could, and rode in betwixt them both, thinking that the sole authority of his name had been armour of proof to him; and, whilst he was hindering his son from engaging, and calling out Ogilvie to a conference, a soldier darted a spear into his mouth (it was not known whom it was, nor what he aimed at) and struck him down dead from his horse. His death was an alarm to both armies, and, after a sharp conflict, many being wounded on both sides, the victory fell to the Lindsays: They say the cause of it was, that, whilst both armies stood with their spears upright, appearing in the perfect form of a grove, a certain man cried out, Why do you bring these goads with you, as if you had to do with oxen? Pray throw them away, and let us fight it out with our swords, hand to hand, by true valour, as becomes

men. This said, they all threw away their pikes on both sides, except 100 Clydesdale men, whom Douglas had sent in to aid the Lindsays. These held the tops or points of their pikes in their hands, and trailed them at their backs; but, when they came to handy-blows then they held them out as a thick fence before them, and broke the ranks of their enemies, daunted at the sight of weapons, which they did not expect. The conquering side lost 100; the conquered 500, and amongst them many men of note. Alexander Ogilvie was taken prisoner, and died a few days after, of the pain of his wounds, and grief of mind together. Gordon earl of Huntly, was put upon a horse by a friend of his own, and so escaped. The slaughter had been much greater, if the night had not covered the fugitives, for the battle began a few hours before night, on the 24th of January.

The Lindsays managed their victory with great cruelty; they pillaged and demolished houses, and utterly spoiled the country. The war was as hotly carried on between the factions in other parts, Douglas had besieged William Crichton some months in the castle of Edinburgh: and, to make a more close siege, the assembly of the estates, which was summoned to be held on the 15th of July, and was already begun at Perth, was removed to Edinburgh. When the siege had lasted nine months, both the besiegers and the besieged, grew equally weary, and so a surrender was made on these conditions, viz. That William *should be indemnified for whatsoever he had done against the king; and he and his should march safely off.* Thus, in every dispute, *he who is most powerful, would seem to be most innocent.* And, not long after, Crichton was received into the king's favour, and was made chancellor again, by the general consent of all: but he refrained the court, and all public business, as much as ever his office would suffer him to do. Douglas, having thus rather terrified than overthrown Crichton, turned the rest of his fury upon the Livingstons. But before I come to that part of my history, I will touch upon the slaughter of some of the nobles of those times, for it would be a work without end, to record the fates of them all.

James Stewart, a noble knight, was slain by Alexander Lisle and Robert Boyd, at Kirkpatrick, about two miles from Dumbarton; neither could they satisfy their cruelty with his death, but they endeavoured to get his wife also, who was then big with child, and just upon the point of lying-in, into their power; in order whereunto, they sent a priest to her, as in great haste, to tell her, that all the roads were full of horse and foot, and that there was no way for her to escape the present danger, but to go on shipboard, and fly to Robert Boyd at Dumbarton, who had solemnly promised to return her safe home. The credulous woman, who did not know that Robert was present at the perpetration of the murder, being carried from Cardross into the castle, perceiv-

ing that she was circumvented by the fraud of her enemies, and overcome with excess of grief, fear, and indignation, brought forth an abortive birth, which, with the mother, died a few hours after.

About the same time, Patrick Hepburn, earl of Hales, kept the castle of Dunbar, and had with him Joan, the wife of James I. who in these tumultuous times had fled thither for refuge. Archibald Dunbar, thinking this to be a just cause for a quarrel, set upon Hales, Hepburn's castle, in the night, killed the garrison soldiers on the first onset, and took it; yet, in a few hours, for fear, he gave it up to the earl of Douglas, upon condition that he and his should march safely off. Not long after, queen Joan died, leaving these children by her latter husband, John earl of Athol, James earl of Buchan, and Andrew, afterwards bishop of Murray. After she was dead, Hepburn delivered up the castle of Dunbar, ungarrisoned and empty, to the king.

In Angus, Alexander earl of Crawford, put John Lyons to death in the market-place at Dundee, because he had been raised up to great wealth and honour, even to a match in the royal family, by Crawford's father; yet he proved ungrateful, and forgot the courtesies he had received.

Amidst these discords, the men of Annandale embroiled the adjoining countries in all sorts of calamities. The cause of all these mischiefs was imputed to the earl of Douglas, who yet did all he could to conceal these misdemeanors of his clans; for he openly studied nothing more than to afflict the men of different parties, in regard he was grown to that height of power, that it was a capital offence to call any thing he did in question. He caused James Stewart, the king's uncle, to fly the land, because he spoke something freely concerning the state of the kingdom; whose ship being taken by the Flandrians, put an end to his life.

Now Douglas thought it was high time to attempt the Livingstons; whereupon he caused Alexander, the head of the family, and his son James, and also Robert the king's treasurer, and David, to be summoned to an assembly at Edinburgh; and of his friends, Robert Bruce, James and Robert Dundasses. Of these, Alexander, and the two Dundasses were sent back to prison to Dumbarton; the rest were put to death. Of what crime they were guilty, meriting so great a punishment, the historians of those times do not mention; neither will I interpose my own conjectures, in a business so remote from our memory; only I will relate what I have heard, that James Livingston, when he came to the place of execution, complained heavily and expressly of the inconstancy of fortune. "That his father, who was honoured
" with a power next to the king's, did yet freely give up the inviolable title of regent, and went to his own estate, far from

“ court, and out of his enemies sight, whose cruelty was never
“ satiated with his miseries; and therefore was forced to take
“ arms to preserve his life, which he again laid down at the king’s
“ command. If there were any fault in that, he had long ago ob-
“ tained his pardon; and since that time, he had lived remote, and
“ free from all suspicion of any crime; of which this was an evi-
“ dent token, that the nobility thought them innocent, and did
“ solicitously deprecate their punishments; and yet notwithstand-
“ ing, the severe cruelty of their enemies prevailed more than
“ the former demerits and good offices of their family, or, than
“ the king’s pardon obtained; or, than the interceding supplica-
“ tions of the nobility. And therefore he intreated all who were
“ then present, to look upon these empty titles of empire and
“ dominion, to be nothing else but the flattering compliments
“ of fortune, who then intended to do most mischief; and that
“ they were rather flowery embellishments for one’s funeral, than
“ safeguards to a man’s life; especially since bad men can do
“ more to destroy the good, than the consent of the good can do
“ to save them.” And, having thus spoken, to the great grief of
all the spectators, he submitted his neck to the executioner.

Amidst these combustions, Crichton was sent into France, partly to renew the ancient league, and partly to obtain from thence a royal bride. Douglas took his absence very well, tho’ in an honourable employment; because, though he was a prudent and potent person, yet there were some relics of their former discords that made him not overfond of him. In this troublesome state of the kingdom, the same disease which vexed others, did also infest the ecclesiastical order. John Cameron, bishop of Glasgow, had himself committed many acts of cruelty and avarice among the husbandmen of his diocese, (which was very large) and he had also given encouragement to those who were in power to do the like; that so, when the owners were unjustly condemned, their estates might be confiscated to him; so that he was believed to be the author or the favourer of all the mischiefs which were acted by his people. It is reported, that the man came to an end worthy of his wicked life. The day before the nativity of Christ, as he was asleep in a farm of his own, about seven miles from Glasgow, he seemed to hear a loud voice*, calling him to the tribunal of Christ, to plead his cause. That sudden fright awakened him out of his sleep; he called up his servants to bring a candle, and set by him; he took a candle in his hand, and began to read; but presently the same voice was heard louder than before; which struck all those present with a great horror. Afterwards,

* The bishop of Glasgow frightened by a voice from heaven, for his wicked life; which is the occasion of his death.

when it sounded again more terribly and frightfully than before, the bishop gave a great groan, put out his tongue, and was found dead in his bed. This so eminent an example of God's vengeance, as I shall not rashly credit, so I have no mind to refute; yet, it being delivered by others, and constantly affirmed to be true, I thought proper not to omit it.

At the same time, James Kennedy†, one of a far different life and manners, as referring all his counsels to the good of the public; when neither by his authority nor counsel, he could resist the daily new-springing evils of his country; and seeing likewise that the king's power was not able to oppose the conspiracies of wicked men, he left all his estate for a prey, and shifted for himself. Neither, in these domestic miseries, were matters much quieter abroad. When the truce made with the English was expired, the Scots made an inroad into England, and the English into Scotland; and wherever they went, they wasted all with fire and sword. In England, Alnwick was taken and burnt, by James, brother to the earl of Douglas. In Scotland, the earl of Salisbury did the like to Dumfries; and the earl of Northumberland to Dunbar. Great booties of men and cattle were driven away on both sides: But the commanders agreed amongst themselves, that the prisoners should be exchanged; for they were in a manner equal, both for number and degree. By these incursions the country was depopulated, and yet the main chance of the war not concerned; so that a truce was again agreed upon for seven years.

In this state of affairs, James Dunbar, earl of Murray, departed this life. He left two daughters, his heiresses. The eldest of them was married, by her father before his death, to James Crichton: The younger, after her father's decease, married Archibald, brother to the earl of Douglas. He, against the laws and the customs of his ancestors, was called earl of Murray: so superlative was Douglas's power then at court. Neither was he contented with this accession of honour; but, that he might further propagate the dignity of his family, he caused his brother George to be made earl of Ormond. His brother John had many fair and fruitful farms and lands bestowed upon him; and was also made baron of Balveny, against the minds of many, even of his friends, who were jealous lest the power of that family, too great before, would be at last formidable, even to the king himself; nay, they imagined that these immoderate accessions and frolics of fortune would not be long-lived. But his enemies did, as invidiously as they could, inveigh against this insatiable ambition. "For who (say they) could safely live under the exorbitant rule of such a tyrant, for whose avarice nothing was enough, and against

† James Kennedy retires from a corrupt court.

whose power there was no safeguard; who, right or wrong, invaded the patrimony of the nobles, and exposed the meaner sort to be a prey to his tenants; and those who opposed his lust, he caused them, by thieves and cut-throats, either to lose all they had, or else to be put to death; that he advanced upstarts to high honours, whom he grafted on the ruin of noble families; so that all the power of the kingdom was now brought into one house; besides many knights and barons, there were five opulent earls of the family; insomuch that the king himself did but reign precariously; and men were like to suffer all extremities under the cruel bondage of the Douglasses; and he that uttered the least word tending to liberty, must pay his life for his boldness." These, and other discourses of this kind, some true, others to create greater envy, stretched beyond the lines of truth, were spread abroad amongst the vulgar; which made those who were of neither faction, to sit loose from the care of the public, and every one to mind his own private concerns. The wiser sort of his enemies were glad to hear, that a man of such power, against which there was no making head, should thus voluntarily run headlong to his own destruction. Neither did they presage amiss; for his mind was grown so proud and insolent, by reason of his great successes, that he shut his ears against the free advice of his friends; nay, many could not, with any safety, dissemble and cover, by their silence, what they disliked; because he had parasites, which did not only lie at catch for words, but observed men's very countenances. As for his old enemies, many of them were haled to judgment before him, who was both their adversary and judge too; so that some of them lost their estates, some were deprived of their lives, and others, to avoid his unrighteous and partial judgment, fled out of their country.

The men also of Douglas's faction lived in no fear at all of the law, (for no man durst implead them), but letting the reigns loose to all licentiousness, they invaded and made havoc of things sacred as well as profane: Those who were obnoxious to them, they slew, and killed out of the way. Neither was there any end of their wickedness: Sometimes, when they had no sufficient cause to do a man a mischief, then they did it unprovoked, and gratuitously, as it were, lest, through disuse of offending, any honest and tender thoughts should arise in their minds, so as to allay their brutish cruelty. Every one thought himself the noblest and bravest fellow, that could cast the greatest contumely on the commons. When such great miseries were diffused into all parts of the kingdom, Scotland had certainly sunk under the burden, unless England, at the same time, had been as much embarrassed with civil combustions; which, at last, being somewhat allayed, the English violated their truce, and invaded Scotland. When

they had run over a great circle of ground, and pillaged many villages, they drove away a vast number of cattle, and returned home. Neither was it long before the Scots retaliated upon them; for they also entered England with a good force, and did the enemy more damage than they received. Thus the minds of both were irritated by these alternate plunderings: so that a mighty desolation was made in the territories of either kingdom: but the greatest share of the calamity fell upon Cumberland, where had been the rise of the injury and wrong: for that province was so harrassed by the war, that it was almost quite destroyed. When this was related at London, it occasioned the English to levy a very great army against the Scots: whereby they thought easily to reduce the country into their power, it being already weakened by civil discords. Hereupon an army was raised of the better sort of people, and the earl of Northumberland made their general, in regard he knew the country well; and besides, his name and power was great in those parts. To him they joined one Main, of a knightly family; who had long served in France, with good repute of industry and valour. It is said, that he, out of his mortal hatred against the Scots, had bargained with the king of England, that the lands he took from the Scots, either by killing or driving away the inhabitants, he, and his posterity after him, should enjoy. On the other side, the Scots, hearing of the preparations of their enemies, were not negligent in gathering forces, on their part. George earl of Ormond was made captain-general; who presently marched into Annandale, whither his intelligence informed him that the enemy would come. And indeed the English had prevented him, and entered Scotland before. They had passed over the rivers Solway and Annan, and pitched their tents by the river Sark; from whence they sent out parties on every side to pillage; but hearing of the coming of the Scots, they recalled them all by sound of trumpet; and contracted all their forces into one body. As soon as ever they came in sight of one another, they fell to it without delay. Main commanded the left wing of the English, and Sir John Penington the right; in which were the Welsh, the relics of the ancient Britons. The earl himself commanded the main battle. George Douglas appointed Wallace, laird of Craig, to fight Main; and Maxwell and Johnston, each with their troops to attack Penington; he himself took care of the main body. He gave them a short exhortation, to conceive good hopes of victory, because they had taken up arms in their own defence, as provoked by the injuries of their enemies; and that a prosperous issue must needs attend so just a cause; and, if they could abate the pride of the enemy, by some notable overthrow, they would reap a lasting fruit of their short labour.

The English, who abounded in number of archers, wounded

many of the Scots with their darts, at a distance; whereupon Wallace, who commanded the left wing, cried out aloud, so as to be heard by most of his men, *Why they trifled so, and skirmished at a distance: they should follow him, and rush in upon the enemy hand to hand; and then their valour would truly appear; for that was the fighting fit for men.* Having thus spoken, he drew the whole wing after him. And presently, with their long spears, where-with the Scots, both foot and horse, were furnished, they drove the enemy back, routed, and put them to flight. Main perceiving his wing to give back, being more mindful of the just glory of his former life than of his present danger, rushes with great violence upon Wallace; so that by his boldness, he might either renew the fight, or else breathe out his last in the glory of an illustrious attempt: but unwarily charging, he was intercepted from his own men, and, with those few that followed him, was slain. When both armies heard that he was slain, the Scots pressed on more chearfully: so that the English army did not stand long. As they fled dispersed in great disorder, and with much precipitation, more were slain in the pursuit, than in the fight. But the chiefest slaughter was upon the banks of the Solway: for there the tide had swollen up the river, so that they could not pass. About 3000 of the English were slain in the fight, and 600 of the Scots. There were many prisoners taken, the chief were Sir John Pennington and Robert Huntington. The Earl of Northumberland's son might have escaped, but whilst he was helping his father to horse, he himself was taken prisoner. The booty was greater than had ever been known in any battle betwixt the Scots and English before. For the English, trusting to the number and goodness of their soldiers, and depending also on the discord of the Scots, came on so securely, as if it had been to a shew, not to a fight; so great was their confidence, and so much they undervalued their enemy. Wallace was wounded, carried home in a litter, and, in three months after, died of his wounds.

Ormond, being thus a conqueror, took a view of the prisoners. The chief commanders he sent prisoners to the castle in Lochmaben. He himself returned to court; where every body went out to meet him: and he was received with all the tokens of honour. The king highly extolled his military services; but withal advised him and his brother, that, as they had often given proof of their courage abroad, and had defended the state of Scotland by their labour and valour, even in perilous times; so at home they would accustom themselves to a modest deportment; and first refrain themselves from injuring the poorer sort, and next hinder their clans from doing it: and that they should use their forces and grandeur, which their ancestors had obtained by their many merits, both of king and subjects, rather in restraining of robbers,

than in cherishing them. That this was the only thing which was wanting to complete their praise, and make it absolute; and, if they would do that, they should certainly find, that he would esteem the honour of the Douglasses, and their interest, before any thing else whatsoever. They answered the king submissively, and so took their leave, and went joyfully home.

After this fight at Sark, as the borders of Scotland were quieter from the wrongs of their enemies; so, when the matter was reported at London, it did rather irritate the English, than deject them. For, a council being called about a war with Scotland, a new army was ordered to be raised, to blot out the former ignominy. Whilst they were all intent upon this expedition, at that very crisis of time, civil wars broke out among themselves; and a strong conspiracy of the commons made against the king, took off their thoughts from a foreign war: so that ambassadors were sent into Scotland to treat of a peace, which was so much the more welcome, because the Scots affairs were not well settled at home. Yet they could not well agree to terms of peace; but only made a peace for three years, and so returned home. These things were acted in the year of our Lord 1448.

This public joy was soon after increased by a message, sent out of Flanders from the chancellor, who went ambassador to Charles VII. about contracting a marriage. By his endeavours, Mary, the daughter of Arnold duke of Guelderland, was betrothed to James. She was of kingly race by her mother's side, who was a sister of the duke of Burgundy. The year after, she came with a great train of noble persons into Scotland, and in July was crowned in the abbey of Holyrood-house, near Edinburgh.

This universal joy, for the victory, for the peace, and for the marriage, was soon disturbed by the death of Richard Colvil, a knight of note; which, though perhaps, in itself not undeserved, yet was of very bad example to the commonwealth. This Colvil, having received many and great wrongs from one John Afleck, a friend of Douglas's, and after many complaints, getting no remedy in law nor equity, fought with and slew him and some of his followers. Douglas took the fact so heinously, that he made a solemn oath never to rest, till he had expiated the murder by Colvil's death. Neither were his threatenings in vain; for he stormed his castle, took and plundered it, and killed all the people in it, who were able to bear arms. This action, though performed against law and custom, was excused, and, in effect, commended by some, as proceeding from indignation, a passion that does not sit unbecoming upon a generous mind. Thus, as it commonly happens in degenerate times, *Flattery, the perpetual companion of greatness, dressed up the highest offences with honest and plausible names.* Douglas was so elated with the flatteries of fortune, which was

now bent on his destruction; that he was ambitious to make an ostentation of his power, even to foreign nations; as if the splendor of so great a family ought not to be straitened within the narrow theatre of one island only: so that he had a mind to go to Rome. He pretended religion, but the principal design of his journey was ambition. The church of Rome had adopted the old rites of the Jewish: for, as the Jewish church every fiftieth year, was to forgive all debts, of what kind soever, to their countrymen, and to restore all pledges *gratis*; and also to set their Hebrew servants at liberty: so the pope, taking an example from thence, as God's vicar on earth, arrogated the power of forgiving all offences. For, whereas at other times, he trucked out his pardons by piece-meal; every fiftieth year he opened his full garners thereof, and poured out whole bushels full of them publicly to all; yet I will not say, *gratis*.

Douglas with a great train of nobles, who were desirous, partly to see novelties, and partly were tempted with the hopes of reward, sailed over into Flanders; from whence he travelled by land to Paris, and took with him his brother, appointed bishop of Caledonia; who afterwards, seeing Douglas had no children, was, by the king's permission, put in hopes of being his heir. In France he was highly caressed, partly upon the account of their public league with the Scots, and partly in memory of his ancestors merits from that crown; and the fame of this filled all Rome with the expectation of his coming.

About two months after his departure from Scotland, his enemies and rivals began to lift up their heads; they durst not, for fear, complain of him when he was present; but now they laid open all the injuries which they had received from him. And, when it was once noised abroad, that the access to the king was easy, and that his ear was open to all just complaints; the troop of the complainants, lamenting their sufferings, increased daily; so that all the ways to the palace were crowded by them. The king could neither well reject the petitions of the sufferers, nor yet condemn the earl in his absence, without hearing him, so that he gave a middle answer, which satisfied their importunity for the present, viz. *That he would command the earl's procurator, or attorney to appear; that so, he being present, a fair trial might be had.* Whereupon the procurator was summoned, but did not appear: So that the king's officers were sent out to bring him in by force. When he was brought to court, some alleged, that he ought to be immediately punished for disobeying the king's command; in regard that, by too much patience, the king's authority would be despised and run low, even amongst the meaner sort: For, under the pretence of lenity, the audaciousness of the bad would increase, and the impunity of offenders would open the way for more

crimes. The king was not moved by those instigations, but remained constant to his resolution: which was, rather to satisfy the accusers, by the compensation of their losses, than to satiate their revengeful minds with the spilling of blood. For this end, he caused the earl's procurator to be freed from prison, and to plead, in his master's behalf; telling him, *That, if he had any thing to allege, by which he could clear his master of the crimes objected, he should freely declare it, without any fear at all.* When he was cast in many suits, and the king commanded him immediately to pay the damages; the procurator answered, *He would defer the whole matter, till the return of the earl; who was expected in a few months.* This he spake, as it was thought, by the advice of Ormond and Murray, the earl's brothers; when the king was informed of his resolution, he sent William Sinclair, earl of the Orcades, who was then chancellor, first into Galloway, and then into Douglasdale. He appointed sequestrators, to gather up the rents of Douglas's estate; and so to pay the damages adjudged by law. But as Sinclair had not power enough to enforce his order; some eluded, others abused him very grossly; so that he returned without bringing his business to any manner of effect.

The king, being provoked by this contempt of his authority, commands all the favourers of Douglas's faction to be summoned to appear; which they refusing to do, were declared public enemies; and an army was levied against them, which marched into Galloway. At their first coming, the commanders of the rebels were driven into their castles; but a small party of the king's forces, pursuing the rest through craggy places, were repulsed; and not without ignominy returned back to the king. The king, being in a mighty indignation, that vagabond thieves should dare to make such attempts, resolved to make them pay dear for their contempt of the commands of majesty, by attempting their strongest holds. He took the castle of Maben, with no great difficulty; but his soldiers were so much toiled and wearied in the taking of Douglas's castle, that he entirely demolished it, by way of revenge. As for the vassals and tenants who had submitted themselves and their fortunes to him, he commanded them to pay their rents to his treasurers, till Douglas's estate had fully satisfied, what was awarded against him by law. And, when this was done, he dismissed his army; having obtained a good report for his lenity and moderation, even amongst his very enemies.

When these matters were related to the earl at Rome, his great spirit was mightily moved; his reputation was even abated amongst his own attendants; a great part of them deserted him; and he set out upon his journey homewards, with but a few followers. Passing through England to the borders of Scotland, he sent his brother James to feel the king's pulse, how he stood affect-

ed towards him. And, as the king was found in the humour of being appeased, he returned home, and was kindly received: only he was admonished to abandon and subdue all robbers, especially those of Annandale; who had played many cruel pranks, to satisfy their avarice, in his absence. Douglas undertook to do so; and confirmed his promise by an oath. Whereupon he was not only restored to his former grace and favour, but also made regent over all Scotland; so that every one was enjoined to obey his commands.

But his vast mind, which was always hankering after an excessive state of exaltation, was not content with this honour, which was the greatest he could be advanced to, under the king; but, by his temerity, he gave the state new occasions of suspicion: For he undertook a journey very privately into England; and, after his address to that king, he told him, that the cause of his coming was, *That his estate, though claimed by him, was not yet restored.* But this seemed to James, a light, and no probable cause of his journey: And therefore the king conceived a great suspicion in his mind, which before was not well reconciled; neither did he conceal his anger, as supposing that there was a deeper design hid under that discourse with the English king. Douglas, having now an offended king to deal with, fled presently to his wonted refuge, his majesty's well-known clemency, and cast himself at his feet: The queen also, and many of the nobles interceded for him; and, after a solemn oath, that for the future, he would never act any thing which might justly offend the king, his fault was forgiven; only he was deprived of his office. Whereupon the earl of the Orcades, and William Crichton, who had always remained loyal, were advanced again to the helm.

Douglas was very angry with all the courtiers for this disgrace (for so he interpreted) it but he was most of all incensed against William Crichton; for he thought that it was by his prudence, that all his projects were disappointed; and therefore he was resolved to dispatch him out of the world, either by some treachery, or if that succeeded not, by any other way whatsoever. And, that he might do it with the less odium, he suborned one of his friends to witness, that he heard Crichton say, *That Scotland would never be at quiet, so long as any of the family of the Douglasses were alive; and that the safety of the king and kingdom, the concord of the estates, and the public peace, depended upon the death of that one man: For, he being of a turbulent nature, and supported by many and great affinities and irreconcilable by any offices of respect and advancements to honour, it was better to have him taken out of the way, that so the public peace might be confirmed and settled.* This tale, when noised abroad, and believed by many, by reason of the face of probability it carried along with it, raised up a

great deal of ill-will against Crichton, Douglas, being informed by his spies, when he was to depart from Edinburgh, lays an ambush for him, late in the night*, as secretly as he could, and, when Crichton and his train came to it, the insidious ruffians set upon them with a great shout; they who were first assaulted, were so astonished at the suddenness of the danger, that they could not lift up an hand to defend themselves. But William, being a man of great courage and conduct, as soon as he had a little recovered himself from his fright; killed the first man that assaulted him, and wounded another; and so he and his attendants broke through the midst of their enemies, having only received some wounds. He fled to Crichton castle, and there staid some days, to cure his wounds; and soon after, he got a great number of his friends and tenants along with him, and came with profound secrecy to Edinburgh; his speed did so prevent the noise of his coming, that he had almost surprised his enemy unawares.

Douglas, being thus freed from unlooked for danger, either out of fear, shame, or both, when he saw the power of the adverse faction increase and grow extremely popular, endeavoured also to strengthen his own party, as much as ever he could; and therefore he joins himself in league with the earls of Crawford and Ross, which were the most noted and potent families in Scotland, next to the Douglasses. A mutual oath was entered into betwixt them, *That each of them should be aiding and assisting against all the world, to the friends and confederates of one another.* And in confidence of this combination they contemned the forces of the opposite faction; nay, and the king's too. The king resented this as the very highest indignity; and besides, he had other fresh causes of provocation against him; which hastened his destruction. John Herris, a knight of a noble family in Galloway, being averse to the ill practices of the Douglasses, commonly kept within the walls of his own house; but the Annandalians were sent in upon him; who did him a great deal of mischief. He often complained of it to Douglas, but in vain: so that at length he determined to revenge himself, and repel force by force. And accordingly, he gathered a company of his friends together, and entering Annandale, he, and all his followers were taken prisoners by those banditti; and being brought to Douglas, he hanged him up as a thief, though the king had earnestly interceded for him by his letters. The matter seemed very heinous, as indeed it was; so that speeches were given out, *That Douglas, by evil practices, did endeavour, and that not obscurely, to make his way to the crown: For now there was nothing else remaining, which could satisfy his vast and aspiring mind.* Which suspicion was soon after increased by another action

* Douglas's design against Crichton's life.

which he committed as foul as the former. There was a certain family of the Maclans in Galloway, one of the chief and best there: the prime person of that family had killed one of Douglas's attendants, from whom he had received continual wrongs and affronts; for which Douglas put him and his brother in prison. The king was made acquainted with it, and was very much importuned by the friends of the prisoner, not to suffer so noble, and otherwise a very honest man, to be haled forth, not to a trial, but to undoubted destruction; the same person being both his capital enemy, and his judge too; and, that they were not his present crimes which did him so much prejudice, as his having always been of the honest, or royal party. Hereupon the king sent Patrick Gray, Maclan's uncle, a worthy knight, and of kin also to Douglas, to command him to send the prisoner to court, that the matter might be tried there in due course of law. The earl received Gray courteously: but, in the mean time, he caused execution to be done upon the prisoner, and intreated Gray to excuse him to the king, as if it had been done by his officers without his knowledge. But he, perceiving how manifestly he was deluded, was in such a rage, that he told Douglas, that from that day forward he would renounce all alliance, friendship, or any other obligation to him, and was resolved to be his everlasting avowed enemy, and to do him all the mischief he could.

When this news was brought to court, this action appeared so horridly vile to all that heard it, that it grew the world's common talk, that Douglas did now exceed the bounds of a subject, and plainly carried himself as a king: for to what other purpose else did his combinations with the earls of Crawford, Ross, Murray, and Ormond tend? And moreover his private discourse with the king of England, his putting good men to death, and his allowed licentiousness in pillaging the people, were indications of the same design. Now innocency was accounted cowardice, and loyalty to the king punished as perfidiousness; that the enemies of the commonwealth grew insolent, by the too great lenity and indulgence of its prince: that it was time for him now to take the reins of government into his own hand, and to act like a monarch himself; and then it would appear who were his friends, and who were his enemies; or, if he did not dare to do it openly, by reason of the power of some men; yet, by some way or other, he should punish disloyalty: but if he were so fearful as not to do so either, what remained but that they who had hitherto been constant in their loyalty to him, should now at length provide for themselves? Though the life of the Douglasses, and the credulity of the king (prone to suspicion) did confirm these discourses to be too true; yet the king, out of his innate clemency, or else having before laid his design, sends for Douglas to court. He, conscious of so many

mischievous pranks he had played, and calling to remembrance how often he had been pardoned; and withal understanding how distasteful his new league with Crawford was to the king; though he put great confidence in his majesty's clemency, yet being more inclined to fear, refused to come; alleging that he had many powerful enemies at court, and some of them had lately lain in wait to take away his life. Hereupon, to remove this his fear, many of the nobles about the king sent him a schedule, with their hands and seals to it, promising upon oath, That if the king himself should meditate any thing against his life, yet they would dismiss him in safety. So that Douglas, encouraged by the king's clemency, and by the public faith, testified by the subscriptions of so many noble persons, with a great train of followers came to Stirling, where he was courteously treated by the king, and invited into the castle. After supper was ended, with a great deal of mirth, the king took him aside into a private chamber, with but a few attendants. He did not so much as admit those to whom he was wont to communicate his most secret counsels. There he discoursed over, from the very beginning, the loyalty and valour of his ancestors, and his royal indulgence towards their family, and especially towards himself; whom, after having committed many heinous offences, either through the inexperience of his years, or through the persuasions of wicked men, he had freely pardoned; always hoping, that either his royal clemency toward him, or else his growing further into years of discretion, would reform him: and as yet, says he, I despair not but it may be so: and if you repent of what you have impiously committed, the door of my clemency shall never be shut against you. This last league, (proceeded he) with Crawford and Ross, as it is not creditable for you, so it is ignominious to me: and therefore, though I take it much amiss that you entered into it, yet I put it into your power, and, as yet, give you liberty to cancel and break it off; which, though by my prerogative I may command, I had rather, by fair means, persuade you to do; that, since all men's eyes are upon you, you may avert all cause of suspicion with greater security. Douglas answered submissively enough to all other points; but when his majesty came to mention the league, he was somewhat perplexed, and did not clearly declare what he would do; but that he would advise with his associates: neither could he see any cause why the king, at present, should oblige him to a breach of it, since it contained nothing that could justly offend his majesty. The king, either having resolved upon the matter before, or else provoked by his contumacious answer, (as the courtiers say), replied, *If thou wilt not break it, I will*: and immediately struck his dagger into his breast. Those that stood at the door hearing the noise, rushed in; and, after a great many wounds, gave him the

finishing blow. Some say, that next after the king, Patrick Gray, of whom mention was made before, struck him into the head with a bill; and the rest that came in, to shew their duty to the king, gave him every one a blow. He was killed in the month of February 1452, according to the Roman account.

He had then four brothers in Stirling, whom a great number of the nobility had accompanied thither. They, as soon as ever they heard what was done, ran in great amazement to their arms, (as it commonly happens in such sudden confusions), and filled the town with noise and clamour. But, when the tumult was appeased by the nobles, they were commanded to go, each man to his respective lodging. The next day they met to consult: and first of all, James was saluted earl in the room of his departed brother. He mightily inveighs against the perfidiousness of the king and the courtiers; and advises to besiege the castle with what forces they then had, and with all speed to levy more; and so to pull those men out of their lurking-holes, who were valiant only to commit perfidious mischiefs, while they were yet in some fear and anguish for the guilt of their offence. The company commended the piety of James, and the courageousness of his spirit, but were averse to his advice to a seige; because they were not prepared with any materials for so great an enterprize; so that they all departed home. And after consultation with the chief of their friends, the 27th of March they returned again; and tied a cord to an horse-tail, on which they fastened the schedule of the king and nobles, promising the public faith to Douglas for his security: this they drew through the streets, abstaining from no manner of reproach, either against the king or council. When they came to the market-place, with the sound of five hundred trumpets, and the voice of a crier, they proclaimed the king and those that were with him, *Truce-breakers, perjured persons, and enemies to all good men*. Moreover, they were angry with the town, though that had committed no offence; and after they had pillaged it and left it, they sent James Hamilton back to burn it. Nay, their fury continued for some days, so that they ranged all over the country, and ruined the lands of all those who were loyal to the king. They besieged the castle of Dalkeith; and took an oath not to depart from it till they had taken it: for they were highly displeased with John, the owner of it, because he and the earl of Angus had separated themselves from the counsels of the rest of the Douglasses. The seige lasted longer than they expected, for Patrick Cockburn, commander of the garrison, made a strenuous resistance against all the efforts of the enemy: so that, after they had received a great many wounds, and were worn out with toils and watchings, they broke up the seige. In the mean time, the king levied an army to relieve his distressed friends; but not having strength enough to

encounter the Douglasses, he resolved to wait till Alexander Gordon could come in to his assistance; who, as the report went, had levied a great force in the most northern parts, and was marching towards him: But, as he was passing through Angus, Crawford, with a considerable body, met and opposed him at Brechin; where a sharp battle was fought betwixt them. When the king's main body was giving ground, as not able to endure the shock of the Angusians, John Colace, who commanded the left wing, forsook Crawford, having born him a grudge; and so left the main body of his army naked. This struck those, who were almost conquerors, with such terror, that they turned their backs, and fled for it. Thus Gordon unexpectedly got the victory, with much loss on his side; two of his brothers, and a great number of his friends and followers being slain. Of the Angusians also, there fell several men of note; and amongst the rest, John Lindsay the earl's own brother. As for the earl himself, he turned his wrath from the enemy upon those who had deserted him: He stormed their castles, and put their several territories to fire and sword: and he had the better opportunity so to do, because Gordon made a speedy return into his own country, Buchan, when he heard that the earl of Murray was exercising all manner of cruelty against his territories: so that he was forced to march back with his victorious army; where he not only revenged his loss upon his enemy, but also quite expelled him out of his country of Murray. These actions were performed towards the end of the spring.

In the interim, the king, by the advice chiefly of James Kennedy, caused an assembly of the estates to meet at Edinburgh, to which he summoned, by an herald, the earl of Douglas, and the nobles of his party, to come. But he was so far from obeying him, that the next night he caused a label to be hung on the church doors, that he would not trust the king with his life, nor yield obedience to him for the future, any more, who had sent for his kinsman to Edinburgh, and his brother to Stirling, under the protection of the public faith, and there had perfidiously slain them, without hearing their cause. In this assembly the* four brothers of the late earl who was slain, James, Archibald, George and John, with Beatrix the late earl's wife, and Alexander earl of Crawford, were declared public enemies to the commonwealth. Many persons were advanced to be noblemen, and rewards were assigned them out of the rebels estates. An army was levied to pursue the enemy, which, after some devastation of the country, driving off booties, and burning corn in granaries, was again dismissed in winter, because the soldiers could not then keep the field, and an expedition was appointed against the spring.

* The Douglasses proclaimed public enemies.

In the mean time, James Douglas, lest the wealth of his family, which was mightily increased by rich matches, should go away to other people, takes to wife Beatrix, the relic of his brother, and treats with the pope to confirm the marriage. But the king, by his letters, interposed, and hindered him from giving his ratification to it. This year, and the two next following, there was discord between the parties; lands were pillaged; some castles overthrown; but they came not to the decision of the main controversy by a set battle; the greatest part of the damage fell on the counties of Annandale, Forres, and the neighbouring counties of the Douglasses. This devastation of the countries was followed by a famine, and the famine by a plague. The wisest of Douglas's friends used all arguments in persuading him to endeavour a reconciliation with the king, and so to lay himself, and all his concerns, at his feet, whom his ancestors had before found very merciful; especially since he had a king, who was easily exorable in his own nature; and moreover, might be made more reconcilable by the mediation of his friends, and that he would not suffer so noble a family as his was, to be extirpated by his obstinacy; nor betray the lives of so many brave men, who followed his party; nor yet bring them to that point of necessity, that, after having suffered so many calamities, they should be forced to make terms for themselves: Whilst he was in a good condition, he might make easy terms of peace; but, if once his friends deserted him, he could then have no hopes of obtaining his pardon. The man, being in the full pride and warmth of his youth, and of a fierce disposition too, made answer, "That he would never submit himself to their power, who were restrained by no bounds of modesty, nor by any divine or human laws; who under fair promises had enticed his cousins, and his brother, to come to them, and then perfidiously and cruelly murdered them: In a word, he would suffer the height of all extremities, before he would ever put himself into their hands."

This his answer, was approved, or disliked, according to every man's humour: Those who were violent, or who made a gain of the public miseries, commended the greatness of his courage; but the wiser sort persuaded him to take opportunity by the forelock, lest, after his friends had forsaken him, he should find reason, when it was too late, to complain that he had neglected the time for a reconciliation, which is usually the end of hasty and headstrong resolutions. But the earl of Crawford, wearied out with so long a war, and likewise reflecting inwardly upon the injustice of his cause, and the frequent turns and changes of human life; and knowing moreover, that he might obtain his pardon, if he would be but early enough in his solicitations for the king's favour; but that he would find it extremely difficult to get it, if he stood it out;

and besides, being forsaken by some of his friends, and suspecting the fidelity of the rest, he put himself into such an habit, as would most probably move compassion, and came bare-headed and bare-footed, in most humble manner to the king, as he was passing through Angus. To whom he ingenuously confessed the offences of his former life, putting his life and fortune upon the king's mercy, having first prefaced something concerning the fidelity and good services which his ancestors had performed to their kings; he was conscious, that his fault had deserved the extremity of punishment; but whatsoever hereafter he had either of life or fortune, it would be a debt wholly due to the king's clemency. Having spoken these, and other words of the same import, not without tears, all the spectators were much moved and affected, especially some of the nobility of Angus; and tho' they themselves had followed the king's party, yet they were unwilling, that so eminent and ancient a family should be destroyed. James Kennedy carried himself at the same time like a good bishop and a friendly patriot; for he not only forgave the earl the many grievous injuries he had done him, but further commended his suit, and spoke in his favour to the king: For he foresaw, as it after happened, that by this accession, the king's party would be strengthened, and his enemies weakened daily for the future, because many were likely to follow the example of this great man. And besides, the king thinking that his former fierceness was tamed, and that he was really penitent for what he had done, was not hard to be intreated; but gave him his pardon, restored him to his former estate and honour, only advised him, for the future to keep within the bounds of his duty. And indeed Crawford, being thus engaged by the lenity and indulgence of the king, did afterwards endeavour to perform him all the services he possibly could. He followed him with his forces in his march to the farthest part of the kingdom; and having settled things there for the present, he entertained him nobly at his house in his return; and when he marched to make an end of the civil war, he promised him all the force he could make; and indeed the whole course of his life was so changed, that, laying aside his former savageness of behaviour, he lived courteously, and in complaisance with the neighbouring nobility; so that his death, which followed soon after, was the greater grief to the king, and to all the people.

The king thus weakened Douglas's party by degrees: that earl's remaining hopes were from England, if possibly he might obtain aid from thence. For this end he sent Hamilton to London, who brought him back word, That *the king of England would undertake a war against Scotland on no other terms, but that Douglas should submit himself and all his concerns to that king, and acknowledge himself a subject of England*: So that his hopes from thence were

cut off. And, on the other side, the king of Scotland pressed hard upon him by his edicts, proscriptions and arms, and by all the miseries which accompany rebellious insurrections: so that Hamilton advised the earl not to suffer the king to lop away his forces by piece-meal; and, by catching party after party, to weaken, and in time overthrow the whole; but rather to march out with his army, trust fortune, put it to a battle, there to die valiantly, or conquer honourably. This resolution, said he, is worthy of the name of the Douglasses, and the only way to end the present miseries. Alarmed and fired with this speech, he gathered as great an army as he could, of his friends and dependents, and marched out to raise the siege of the castle of Abercorn; for the king, after he had demolished many castles of the Douglasses, had at last besieged that. It was a very strong hold, situate almost in the mid-way between Stirling and Edinburgh. When Douglas came so near, that he saw, and was seen by, the enemy, his friends advised him to push at all, and either make himself renowned by some eminent victory; or, by a noble death, to free himself from reproach and misery: But, when all his party were ready for the onset, he daunted all their spirits by his own delay, for he retreated with his army again into his camp, and determined to draw and spin out the war to a greater length. His commanders disliked his design; and Hamilton abhorring his cowardice, and despairing of the success of his arms, revolted that very night to the king's party. Upon this his defection, the king gave him his pardon, but not reposing any great confidence in him, because of his subtilty, he sent him prisoner to Roslin, a castle belonging to the earl of the Orcades; but afterwards, by the mediation of his friends, he was released, and received into favour; and that unbloody victory ascribed to him, as the main occasion of it.

The rest of the Douglassians generally followed Hamilton's example, and gave their chief the slip, going where each thought it most convenient for his own security; so that, at length, the castle, after much loss on both sides, was taken, and the garrison being put to the sword, it was left half demolished as a monument of the victory. Douglas, being thus deserted by almost all his friends, with a few of his familiars fled into England; from thence, not long after, he made an inroad with a small party into Annandale, which was then possessed by the king's garrisons; but, being worsted in a skirmish, he and his brother John escaped; Archibald earl of Murray was slain; George, much wounded, was taken prisoner; and, after his wounds were cured, was brought to the king, and put to death. In an assembly of the estates held at Edinburgh, on the 5th of June, in the year 1455, James, John, and Beatrix, all Douglasses, were again proscribed: The public

acts made Beatrix their mother, which seems not very probable to me, unless perhaps they might be called her sons by adoption. Earl James having thus lost his brothers, being deserted by his friends, and distrusting the English, that he might leave no stone unturned, applied himself to Donald, king of the *Æbudæ*: They met at Dunstaffnage; where the earl easily persuaded Donald, a man naturally prone to do mischief, to join with him in the war; whereupon they committed great outrages on the king's provinces near adjoining, without distinction either of age or sex; there was nothing spared that could be violated by fire or sword. The like cruelty was used in Argyle and Arran. Douglas being laden with booty, returned home; and afterward, having wasted Lochaber and Murray, and making his road to Inverness, he took the castle, and pillaged and burnt the town.

Neither were the English quiet all this while, but watching their opportunity, they made incursions into Mar'ch; where they slew some men of note, who endeavoured to oppose their furious ravages; and so returned home without loss, but full of plunder, from that opulent country. The next year after, Beatrix, wife to the former earl of Douglas, and also living for some years with James, his brother, as his wife, came in to the king: She laid all the fault of her former miscarriages upon James; that she being a woman, and helpless, was forced to that wicked marriage; but at the first opportunity, as soon as James was absent, she fled that servitude: that now she laid herself, and all her concerns, at the king's feet; and, whatever order he should please to make concerning her, or her estate, she would willingly obey it. The king received her into his protection; gave her an estate in Balveny, and married her to his brother, the earl of Athol, by the same mother. The wife of Donald, the islander, followed her example: She was the daughter of James Livingston, and was married to Donald, by her grandfather, the regent, by the persuasion of the king; that so he might a little soften the rugged disposition of the man, and keep him firm to the king's party: But then her kinsman being restored to the favours and graces they formerly had, and her husband having joined in with the Douglassian faction, she was every day more and more despised by him; so that she implored the king's assistance against his barbarous cruelty. There was no need of her making such an apology, in regard the king himself had been the author of the match; so that she was nobly treated, and had a large revenue settled upon her for life.

About the same time, Patrick Thornton, who had followed the court a great while, yet was secretly of Douglas's faction, having got a convenient opportunity, at Dumbarton, slew John Sandeland of Calder, a young man of about twenty years of age, and Allan Stewart, of noble families both, and eminent for their loyal-

ty to the king. But soon after, he himself was taken by the clans of the adverse party, and executed for his pains.

This year was remarkable for the death of many noble personages; but especially of William Crichton. He, tho' born but of a knight's family, yet, by reason of his great prudence, fortitude, and his singular loyalty to the king, even to the last day of his life, left a great loss behind him to all good men. The next year, the English, encouraged by their coming off with impunity for former injuries, made great spoil in March, under the command of Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, and James Douglas, the exile. In order to put a stop to these devastations, George Douglas, earl of Angus, gathered a party of his countrymen together, and made an assault upon the plunderers, and drove that part of them which he assaulted, in great confusion to their own standards. The English, moved at this indignity, marched on their army, before the rest had recovered their colours, and the Scots were as ready to receive them.

The fight was managed on both sides, with greater courage than force, for a great while together; neither did any odds appear, till the English, who were scattered up and down the country, by the noise and tumult, perceiving that the enemy was come, for fear of losing the rich booty they had gotten, hasted directly home. Their departure gave an easier, but yet not unbloody victory to the Scots, there being almost an equal number slain on both sides; but many of the English taken in the pursuit. The news of this victory being brought to the king, somewhat raised his spirits, which were oppressed with the insurrections of his own subjects, as well as with the invasions of foreigners; and likewise desposed Donald the islander, perceiving the ill success of his affairs, to send agents to the king for a peace. They, in an humble oration, commemorated the king's clemency shewed to Crawford, and the rest of his partizans in the same cause. As for their own crimes, they laid them on the evil genius of the times; but for the future, they made large promises, how loyal and obsequious Donald would be. The king seemed to be a little affected with their speech, but gave them no absolute answer; neither quite pardoning Donald, nor utterly excluding all hopes of his pardon. He told them, "That his many crimes were very evident, but he had discovered no sign of his conversion; if he would have the penitence which he pretended in words to be believed as really true and hearty, he should make restitution for the loss he had formerly caused, and restore their estates to such as he had outed from the possession of them; and thus cancel the memory of his former mischiefs, by some eminent and loyal service. 'Tis true, (said he,) no virtue becomes a king more than clemency; but care must be had, lest the reins

“ of government be not let loose by too much lenity; and so evil men made rather more insolent, than good men excited to their duty by it. That he would give Donald and his party time to manifest, by some tokens, that they repented of their miscarriages; and that they would always find him acting towards them, just as their actions, not their words, shewed they deserved from his hands. In the mean time they need not fear; for now it was put into their own power, whether they would every man be happy, or miserable, for the future.”

By this means, intestine discords being either composed, or else laid asleep, the king now bends all his care against England. Whilst he was consulting about carrying on a war with them, and concerning their frequent violations of treaties, ambassadors came at that very crisis from the English nobility, to desire aid against Henry their king; for Henry had slighted the nobles, and advanced upstarts; by whose advice, his wife, a woman of a manly spirit and courage, ordered all affairs. And besides, the king had incurred the contempt of his people, and the displeasure of his friends, because things had not succeeded well in Gasconne and Normandy: For they having lost so many provinces, and being now pent up within the ancient bounds of their own island, murmuring gave out, That the king's sluggishness, and the queen's pride were no longer to be endured. The heads of the conspiracy were Richard duke of York, with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick. When the English ambassadors had discoursed much concerning the justice of their taking arms against Henry, and also concerning their own power, and the cowardly temper of their king, they craved aid against him, as against a common enemy, who was fearful in war, sordid in peace, and who had nourished civil discords amongst the Scots, and had assisted their exiles. Withal, they promised, if they got the victory, to restore the castles and countries which were taken in former wars from the Scots. The king, by advice of his council, made answer, That he knew before the state of the English affairs; and that he was not ignorant of the right or demands of either side; but that he would not interpose himself as an arbiter in another man's kingdom, unless he were chosen by both parties to that office. As to the war, he had long since determined to revenge the injuries of former times; and, since he could not by law obtain the places he had lost, on the occasion of these discords, he would recover them by force; but if the duke of York and his party, would promise to restore them, then he would assist him against Henry. The ambassadors agreed to the terms, and so returned home.

The king prepared his forces, and was about to enter England; when, just at that very time, an English impostor, sent

by Henry, met him. He had been a long time at Rome, and was well acquainted with the speech and customs of the Italians: His habit and train was all outlandish, and he had counterfeited letters as from the pope; whereby he was easily believed by unsuspecting men, to be a legate sent from him: and to gain the greater credit to his impostures, he had a monk with him, whose feigned sanctity made the fraud less suspected. They were brought to the king, and in the pope's name commanded him to proceed no further with his army; if he did, they threatened to excommunicate him with bell, book, and candle: For the pope, said they, is wholly intent upon a war against the common enemy of Christendom; and so would have the differences composed all over Europe, that they might be free from that war; and that they were sent before, to give him notice of it; but there was a more solemn embassy which would shortly arrive, and which, they believed, was come as far as France, to decide the civil discords in England, and to give satisfaction to the Scots for the wrongs they had sustained. The king did not imagine any fraud in the case, and desiring nothing more than an honourable peace, in regard things at home were not quite settled to his mind, obeyed the legate, and disbanded his army.

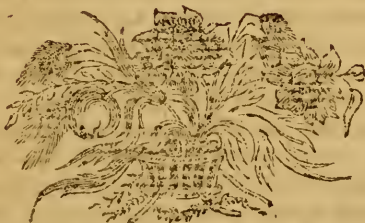
He had scarce dismissed it, but he was advised from England, that this supposed ambassador was a cheat; so that he raised some forces afresh; and, because he could not join with the duke of York, that he might keep off some of the king's forces from him, and also revenge his own wrongs, he marched directly to Roxburgh; the town he took, and destroyed it at his first coming: But whilst he was laying siege to the castle, ambassadors came from the duke of York, and his associates, informing him, that their king was overcome, and the war ended in England. They gave him thanks for his good will, and his desire to assist them in the maintenance of their lives and honours; and that they would in time be mindful to requite the courtesy; but at present, they desired him to raise the siege, and draw off from the castle; and likewise to forbear any other act of hostility against England; for otherwise they should draw upon them a load of envy from the people, who could hardly be satisfied, but that an army must presently march against the Scots. James congratulated their victory; but asked the ambassadors, whether the duke of York had given them nothing in command, concerning the performance of their late promises. They answered, Nothing. Then (said he) before your first embassy came to me, I was determined to pull down that castle, which is built upon my land; neither, since that, am I so much obliged by the courtesies of that faction, as to give over an enterprise, which is begun, and

almost finished. As for the threatenings, whether they are their own, or their peoples; let them look to it; Go you, and tell them, *That I will not be removed hence by words, but by blows.* Thus the ambassadors were dismissed without their errand. And whilst he did press upon the besieged with all the hardships of war, Donald the islander came into his camp, with a great band of his countrymen. He, to obtain the easier pardon for his past offences, and fully to atone and reconcile the king, promised him, that, if he would march forward into the enemy's countries, as long as he was there, he would march a mile before the royal army, run the hazard of the first onset, and stand the greatest shocks. But he was commanded to be near the king; yet some of his troops were sent to prey upon the country. It happened also, that at the same time, Alexander Gordon earl of Huntly, brought in new forces to the king.

This accession of strength made the king more resolute to continue the siege, though a stout defence was made by those within: so that, whereas before it was a blockade only, a well laid and close siege was now made: and there being soldiers enough, some presently succeeded in the places of others; insomuch that the garrison soldiers (of whom many were slain, many wounded and unfit for service, the rest tired out with continual toil and labour) were not so eager to run into the places of most danger, as before: And, to strike the more terror into them, the king gave command to batter part of the wall with iron pieces of ordnance; which were then much used, and were very terrible; And whilst the king was very busy about one of them, to encourage and press on the work, the fire caught within it, and with its force drove out a wooden wedge or plug, which immediately struck the king stone dead on the earth, without hurting any body else. Those courtiers that stood next him, though they were terrified at this sudden accident, yet they covered his body, lest, if his death were divulged, the common soldiers would run away. The queen, who, that very day, came to the camp, spent not the time in womanish lamentations, but called the nobles together, and exhorted them to be of good courage; and that so many valiant men should not be dismayed at the loss of one, as counting it dishonourable to desert a business that was almost ended. She told them, she herself would speedily bring them another king in the place of him that was slain; in the mean time, they should press with might and main upon the enemy, lest they might grow more resolute, upon the news of the general's death, and so imagine, that all the courage of so many valiant men was extinguished in the fate of one person only. The officers were ashamed to be exceeded in courage by a woman. They assaulted

the castle with such violence, that neither party were sensible that the king was lost.

In the mean time, James, the king's son, being about seven years of age, was brought into the camp, and saluted king. And it was not long after, before the English, quite tired out with watching, and fatigued with continued service, surrendered up the castle to the new king, upon condition to march away with bag and baggage. The castle, that it might be the occasion of no new war, was levelled to the ground. This end had James II. in the year of Christ 1460, a few days before the autumnal equinox, in the 30th year of his age, and the 24th of his reign. He had been exercised always, even from his youth, in domestic or foreign wars: He bore both conditions of life, the prosperous; and the adverse, with great moderation of mind: He shewed such valour against his enemies, and such clemency to those that submitted themselves, that all ranks were much afflicted for his loss. And his death was the more lamented, because it was sudden, and that in the flower of his youth too; after he had escaped so many dangers, and when the expectation of his virtues was at the highest. And he was the more missed, because his son was yet immature for the government, whilst men considered what miseries they had suffered these last twenty years; the ashes of which fire were hardly yet raked up: so that from a remembrance and reflection of what was past, they seemed to divine the state of future things.



(A. C. 1460.)

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK XII.

JAMES III. *the hundred and fourth king.*

JAMES II. as I have related, being slain in his camp, to prevent all controversy concerning the right of succession, (which had happened at other times), his son James, a child of about seven years old, who was the younger and survivor of twin brothers, entered upon his reign in the town of Kelso. Afterwards, when the nobles, according to custom, had taken the oaths of allegiance to him, eight days after he began to reign, he left his army, and retired home to the castle of Edinburgh, to be under the care of his mother, till an assembly of the estates could meet to determine the grand affairs of the kingdom. The assembly was summoned later than ordinary, because matters were not composed in England, nor yet quiet in Scotland: So that the nobility were of opinion, That war was first of all to be thought on; that so they might revenge old injuries, and punish the enemies by some notable loss, who always lay upon the catch, to take advantages of the distresses of others. For this end they marched into the enemy's country, without any resistance; where they committed much spoil, and demolished many castles, from whence the enemy was

wont to make many incursions; the chief of which was Werk, situate on the banks of the river Tweed, by its neighbourhood very injurious to the country of March. The army ravaged over the enemy's country, as far as they could, for the time of the year, and, at the very beginning of winter, returned home.

This year, Henry, king of England, was taken by the duke of York, and brought to London; there a form of peace was concluded between them; for Henry durst not deny any thing; *That he, as long as he lived, should bear the name, and ensigns and badges, of a king; but the power of government should be in York, under the name of a protector. And, when Henry died, then the name also of king was to be transferred to Edward [rather Richard] and his posterity.* Whilst these things were acted at London, news was brought, that the queen was marching up with a great army to redeem her husband out of prison. York, went out to engage her, with king Henry, and about 5000 men, leaving the earl of Warwick behind. He marched as far as Yorkshire; and, lest he, who in France had defended himself against great armies not with walls, but with arms, should now shun a battle with a woman, he fought against a far greater number than his own; and in the fight he, his youngest son, and a great many nobles, were slain. The heads of the commanders were set up as a spectacle, upon the gates of York. The queen thus victorious, and marching on further, to deliver the king, the earl of Warwick met her, bringing the king along with him, as if he would defend the pact made concerning the kingdom, under his good omen. Both armies met at St. Albans, which is thought to be the old Verulam, where the queen was again victorious. She slew the commanders of the adverse army, released her husband, and marched directly up for London: But considering, that the earl of Pembroke was sent by her to gather forces, as was also York's son by his father, and that these two had a fight in their march, wherein Edward the son of her enemy, was victorious; and withal knowing what cruel hatred the Londoners bore against her, she withdrew towards Northumberland, because she looked on that part of England, as the seminary, or source of her strength. There she was also overcome in a bloody fight; more than 36,000 valiant men being reported to be slain on both sides, and the enemy pressing upon her, and giving her no time to collect her forces, she, her husband, and son, fled into Scotland.

The conqueror called himself Edward IV. king of England. Henry desired aid in his distress, and, by the help of James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrews, who then surpassed all in Scotland in point of authority, and whose prudence was held in the highest esteem, he was entertained with a great deal of honour and respect; so that he had some hopes of recovering his former

design; and, to nourish that hope, by all the mutual good offices which he could do, he restored the town of Berwick to the Scots (which the English had held ever since the days of Edward I.) The Scots, upon this obligation, assisted Henry's faction in all things, not only in piecing up the relics of his former misfortunes, but promising him more aid, in time, to recover his own. And that the friendship now begun, might be the more firmly established, the two queens, both of them of French descent, began to treat concerning a marriage between James's sister, and Henry's son, whom they called prince of Wales, though neither of them, as yet, was seven years old. Philip of Burgundy, uncle to the queen of Scots, but a mortal enemy to the queen of England, endeavoured by all means to hinder this marriage: and he sent Grathusius a nobleman, his ambassador, for that purpose; for Philip was at such deadly odds with Renatus, grandfather to the young lady by the mother's side, that he sought all occasions to hinder his family from increasing; so that in favour of him the matter was, at that time, rather delayed, than broke off. But the fortune of Henry kept off the event, which Philip of Burgundy feared. For, being something encouraged by the kindness of the Scots towards him, and also by some comfortable letters sent from his friends out of England, he sent his wife beyond sea to Renatus her father, to procure what aid she could from her foreign friends. She prevailed so much in France, that her faction was to have a safe place of retreat there, but her adversaries were excluded; and, moreover, she obtained 2000 men, as Monstrelet says, under Warren their general; but, as ours, and the English writers (to whom I rather assent) 500, commanded by Peter Brice, or, as some call him, Brace, a Briton, rather as companions for her journey, than as any auxiliary aid. With this small band she returned into Scotland, and thought fit to attempt something, not doubting, but at the noise of foreign assistance, her countrymen would rise and join with her. Whereupon she made a descent at Tinmouth; but this small company, being dismayed at the report of a great force coming against them, returned to their ships, without the performance of any thing remarkable; where also, as if fortune had crossed them on all hands, they met with a dreadful storm, which drove the greatest part of them, who followed the queen to Scotland, into Berwick; but some of them were cast upon the isle of Lindisfarn, where they were taken by the enemy and put to the sword,

But the manly-spirited queen was not at all discouraged at this misfortune, but levies a great number of Scots to join with her own soldiers, and resolves to try her fortune once again. Accordingly, leaving her son at Berwick, she, and her husband entered Northumberland, where she made great devastation, by fire and

sword, in all the adjacent parts. At the report of this new army, some of the nobles, as the duke of Somerset, Ralph Piercy, and many of Henry's old friends besides, who, for fear of the times had retired to king Edward came in to them; but there was a far greater confluence from the adjacent parts of England, of such persons as had lived rapacious lives, in hope of some new plunder. To appease this commotion, Edward made great military preparation both by land and sea; he commanded the lord Montague, with a great part of the nobility, to march against the enemy, and he himself followed with his whole army. Both parties pitched their tents not far from Hexham; but the common soldiery, who came in only for booty, beginning to desert, Henry thought it best, in such a desperate case, to put it to a push; and accordingly a fight began, wherein he was overthrown, his chief friends were either slain or taken prisoners, and he himself made an hasty retreat to Berwick; of the prisoners, some had their heads cut off presently, and some a while after. Edward, having thus got the day by the generals of his forces, came himself into Durham, that so he might prevent the incursions of the Scots by the terror of his neighbouring army; and also that by his presence he might quell any domestic insurrections, if any should happen. Whilst he was there, he sent out part of his army, under several commanders to take in places possessed by his enemies, of which having taken many by storm, or by surrender, at last he laid siege to the castle of Alnwick, which was greater and better fortified than the rest, and which was maintained by a garrison of French, who defended the castle very well, in hopes of relief from Scotland, which was so near at hand. But the Scots having lately had ill success in England, an army could not be so soon levied, as the present exigence required for the raising of the siege; insomuch that, whilst others were backward, and delayed to give their opinion, George earl of Angus, with great boldness and bravery, undertook the hazardous attempt. He raised about 1,000 horse, of his friends, vassals, and the neighbouring province, of which he was governor: He came to the castle, and furnished the French that were in garrison, with some horses he had brought for that purpose, and so carried them off safe, even to a man, into Scotland, whilst the English stood and looked on, as amazed at the boldness of his miraculous enterprize; either thinking that Douglas had help near at hand; or rather hoping to have the castle given up without a battle, and so they would not put the whole to an hazard, by joining in fight with that small, tho' select party. Edward settled guards at all convenient places, that no rebellious troops might march and countermarch; and then, as if he had quieted the whole kingdom, he returned into London.

In the mean time, exiled Henry, either flattered into hopes by

his friends, or else weary of his tedious exile, determines to shelter himself privately amongst his friends in England. But fortune frowning upon him to the last, he was there known, taken, brought to London, and committed prisoner to the tower. And his wife Margaret, distrusting her present affairs, with her son and a few followers, left Scotland, and sailed over to her father Renatus, into France.

To return then to the affairs of Scotland. The time for the assembly, which was summoned to be held at Edinburgh, was come; where there was a full appearance, but the body of them was divided into two factions; part of the nobles followed the queen, but the major part by far, stuck to James Kennedy and George Douglas earl of Angus, the heads of the contrary faction. The queen lodged in the castle; the bishop and the earl lay in the abbey of Holyrood-house, at the farthest part of the suburbs towards the east. The cause of the dissension was, that the queen thought it equal and just for her to have the tutelage, or guardianship of her son; the other party judged it most fit, that one should be chosen out of the whole assembly for that important work. The queen pleaded very strongly the tenderness of the mother, and the mighty ties both of interest and blood. The adverse party insisted on the old law, confirmed by uninterrupted custom. In the third day of the assembly, the queen came down from the castle with her followers, and caused herself to be decreed *tutress of the king, and governess of the kingdom, by her own faction*: and so returns into the castle again. When Kennedy heard of this, he hastened, with his party, into the market-place, and there, in a long speech, he told the multitude, which was thick about him, "That he and his associates aimed at nothing but
" the public good, and the observation of their ancient laws; but
" their adversaries were led, each one by his private advantage;
" and that he would evidently make it appear, if he might have a
" place allotted, and freedom to dispute the point." This said, he retired with his followers to his lodging; but was not gone far from the market-place, before he heard that the other party was coming down armed from the castle. Douglas looked upon this as an intolerable thing, that valiant men should yield to the threats of a few, and that their retirement should be looked upon as a flight; therefore was hardly kept in by Kennedy, from assaulting the adjoining gate of the city, and, weaponless as he was, to attack armed men; and, unless the three bishops of Glasgow, Galloway, and Dumblane, upon noise of the uproar, had come in, his indignation would not have been stopped, till they had come to blows. But by the mediation of those bishops, the matter was so far composed, that a truce was agreed upon for one month.

Though the chiefs of the faction were thus quieted, yet the multitude could not be restrained from expressing their wrath and

indignation, in rough and cutting language; as, that the desire of the queen was dishonourable to the kingdom, and indecent for herself. ‘What (said they) is the valour of the old Scots at so low an ebb, that, amongst so many thousand men, there is none worthy to govern the affairs of Scotland, but a woman? What, was there no man that could rule over the nation; and that would live the greatest part of his life in arms? What likelihood was there, that those who had not been altogether tractable to their king, when slack, should now yield obedience to a foreign woman? What, had they undergone so much labour, and lost so much blood, these many years, by sea and land, that men, born and bred up in arms, should tamely give up themselves to the servitude of a woman? What if the English should invade them, as they had often done at other times, in revenge of their losses, with a great army? Who could (in that case) set up the standard, and lead out to battle? Who could give or accept terms of peace or war?’ These were the discourses of the commonalty in all their clubs.

But in a month’s time their minds were a little calmer; and the truce being at an end, there was another convention, where the queen alleged this for herself, in justification of her cause, ‘That, since she had not entered upon the government, the year before, by force, or against the minds of the nobility, but being chosen to that dignity by their unanimous consent, had but used her own right, she took it amiss to be degraded, and no crime at all imputed, as to her mal-administration. If (said she) as it is usual, degrees of relation be regarded in guardianship, there is none nearer than a mother: if the safety of the king was in their view, none could be more faithful; for other men might have their various and distinct hopes from his death; but nothing remained for her, but to mourn for the loss of so dear a son. And, if they had respect to the good of the public, she was a stranger, and concerned in no interest of feuds or friendships; and that was what should be much considered in those who sat at the helm of government, that they should not only be free from vicious courses, but likewise from those temptations, which might set a bias upon their mind to pervert justice and judgment. Some had opulent parents, kinsmen, allies, by whose interest they might hope for an excuse of their offences, or, at least, an easier pardon; nay, sometimes rulers were compelled to square and accommodate their actions to such friends’ wills and honours. As for herself, her innocency alone was her only advocate; she had but one son to regard, and both their benefits and advantages were closely joined and interwoven together. And, were it not for these considerations, she would choose much rather to live a quiet and happy life in retirement, with the good liking of all, than to

‘ undergo the enmity of all malefactors, by punishing their crimes; nay, and sometimes to incur the displeasure of the better sort. Neither was it a new thing for a woman to desire the regency of another’s kingdom, since not only in Britain, but even in the greatest and most puissant kingdoms of the continent, women have had the supreme power, and their reigns have been such; that their subjects never repented of their government.”

When she had thus spoken, many assented to her; partly to prepossess a place in her future grace and favour; partly in hopes, that the fruits of other people’s envy would redound to their advantage: Nay, there were some who had an evil jealousy, that, if the election should be made out of all, they themselves might be passed by, as less fit; and therefore they rather desired, that the queen should be made head over them all, than that others, of the same rank with themselves, or even of a superior order, should be preferred before them.

However, the more uncorrupted part of the nobility, shewed, both by their countenances and speeches, that they were disgusted at the queen’s oration; but that which did vehemently affect the whole assembly, was the authority and speech of James Kennedy archbishop of St. Andrews, who, it is reported, spoke in this manner.

‘ IT is my chief design, noble peers, that they whose aims are at the good of all in general, might freely declare their minds, without offence to any one particular person. But in our present circumstances, when the sense of things, delivered for the public good, is wrested and turned to the reproach of these private persons who speak them, it is a very difficult thing to observe such a mean betwixt disagreeing heats and different opinions, as not to incur the offence of one of the parties. As for me, I will so temper and moderate my discourse, that no man shall complain of me, without first confessing his own guilt: yet I shall use the liberty of speech, received from our ancestors, so modestly, that as, on the one side, I desire to prejudice no man; so, on the other, neither for fear nor favour will I pass by any thing which is of use in the debate before us. I see that there are two opinions which do retard and impede our concord; the one is of those who judge, that in a matter relating to the good of all, an election out of all is to be made: and, as we all meet to give our suffrages in a business concerning the safety of the whole kingdom; so it is just and fit, that no man should be excluded from the hopes of that honour, who seeks after it by honest and virtuous ways. The other is of such, who count it a great injury done to the queen, who is so noble a princess, and

so choice a woman, if she be not preferred before all others in the guardianship of her son, and the administration of the government of the kingdom.

Of these two opinions I like the former best, and I will shew you my reasons for it by and by. In the mean time, I so far approve the mind of the latter, that they think it below the queen's grandeur, that any single person should vie with her for this point of honour, lest her authority, which ought to be, as in truth it is, accounted venerable, should be lessened by coping with inferiors; and indeed I would be wholly of their mind, if the dispute lay here, about the honour of one, and not the safety of all. But, seeing that we are this day to make a determination about that which concerns the lives and fortunes of all private men, and the safety of the whole kingdom too, it is highly requisite, that all single interests and concerns whatsoever, should stoop and give way to this consideration. And therefore I earnestly advise those who are of this opinion, so to consult the dignity of the queen, as not to forget at the same time the reverence they owe to the laws, to the old customs and to the universal good of their country. If they can shew, that it is lawful, and publicly expedient, that the guardianship of the king, and the regency of the kingdom, ought to be in the queen's hands, I will be of their opinion. But, if what they plead for, be pernicious to the public, I hope the queen first, and next all good men, will pardon me, if (always saving the majesty of the queen, as sacred, so far as, by law and the custom of our ancestors I may) I do not conceal my opinion; or rather, if I speak out that with freedom, which it were the greatest impiety in me to conceal.

To begin then with the laws: there is a law made above 500 years ago, by king Kenneth, a prince no less eminent for his wisdom and prudence, than for his military performances; and it was assented and yielded to by all the orders of the kingdom; and approved of to this very day, by the constant observance of so many ages; *That, when the king happened to be a minor, the estates, or parliament of the kingdom, should assemble, and choose some one man, eminent for wisdom and power, to be his guardian, and to govern the king, whilst he was yet unable to wield the sceptre with his own hands.* Though this law be referred to Kenneth, as the author of it; yet, it seems to me, that he did not so much enact it first, as revive and confirm the ancient custom of the Scots by a new sanction. For our ancestors were so far from committing the supreme power into the hands of a woman, that, if you look over our chronicles, you shall not find the name of a woman regent recorded among them all. For why, pray, should they mention such a name, of which they

‘ never had any occasion, and hoped they should never have any
‘ for the future? For those females, whom other courtiers call
‘ queens, we only call wives, or consorts of our kings; neither
‘ do we entitle them to any higher name; for, I guess, our wise
‘ ancestors had this in their eye, that as often as these consorts
‘ heard their names subjoined to that of their husbands, they
‘ might remember, that they were subject to men: and therefore,
‘ a woman was never admitted to the regency, or the administration
‘ of public affairs to this very day. The same course hath
‘ been also constantly observed in less magistracies, both as to
‘ their appointment and executions. For though many honours,
‘ and some seigniories amongst them, have come by inheritance
‘ to some women, by reason of their great deserts from their
‘ country, and have also been allotted to them, as dowries;
‘ yet it was never known, since the memory of man, that any
‘ woman did ever preside in any public council, or in any court
‘ of judicature, or did ever take upon her any of those offices
‘ which are appropriated to men. And truly, since our ancestors,
‘ though not bound by law to it, did constantly observe this
‘ custom, only by the impulse of nature; if we, their posterity,
‘ should bring the commonwealth into an apparent danger, by
‘ opposing a law received by the votes of all, and approved by so
‘ long an usage; who will free us from the brand (I will not say
‘ of rashness, but) even of madness itself? Especially, since we
‘ have been warned by examples near at hand: for the Saxons
‘ justly urged and provoked to it by the wickedness of one woman,
‘ viz. Ethelburga, made a law, that, after that time, no woman
‘ should be called queen, nor should sit in public next the king, in
‘ any seat of honour. I beseech you, therefore, consider seriously,
‘ how much they degenerate from their prudence, who, against
‘ a law so ancient, and as advantageous to women as honourable
‘ to men, would put the reins of government into their
‘ hands, to whom our ancestors never gave so much as a royal
‘ name: and from whom our neighbours took it away, after they
‘ had given it to them. Other nations, I grant, have acted otherwise;
‘ with what success I shall not declare, after I have first answered
‘ those, who dare not calumniate this law openly, but, in the
‘ carpet-conventicles of women, do implead it as unjust. But
‘ whosoever he be that finds fault with it, he seems to reprehend,
‘ not some sanction only approved by the suffrages of men, but
‘ even nature itself, *i. e.* that primary law imprinted in our
‘ hearts by God himself; I say, nature itself, whom our law-
‘ maker had as a guide and directress of all his counsels, when he
‘ proposed and enacted this law. For nature, from the beginning,
‘ both not only distinguished men from women by the strength
‘ of mind and body, but hath also appropriated distinct

‘ offices and virtues to each sex, the same indeed for kind, but far
‘ different in degree; for ’tis no less unbecoming a woman to pro-
‘ nounce judgment, to levy forces, to conduct an army, to give a
‘ signal to the battle, than it is for a man to teaze wool, to handle
‘ the distaff, to spin, or card, and to perform the other services
‘ of the weaker sex. That which is liberality, fortitude, and se-
‘ verity in men, is profusion, madness and cruelty in a woman.
‘ And again, that which is elegant, comely and ornamental in a
‘ woman, is mean, sordid and effeminate in a man. Do not they
‘ therefore, that endeavour to confound and mix those things
‘ which nature, of her own accord, hath distinguished; do they
‘ not, I say, seem to you, not only to disturb, but also to over-
‘ throw the state of the kingdom, which is founded upon so good
‘ laws and customs? This they do, when they would obtrude on
‘ us the government of a woman, which our ancestors did not so
‘ much as once name. For the maker of that law (as I told you
‘ before) doth not seem so much to induce a new sanction
‘ in the enacting thereof, as only to commit to writing the per-
‘ petual usage of our ancestors, that it might be transmitted to po-
‘ sterity; and that which hath been always observed by the guid-
‘ ance of nature, in the making of a king, they have consecrated
‘ the same thing to be observed by public authority, in choosing a
‘ guardian for a king under age. Whoever go about to under-
‘ mine and infringe this one law, what do they, but endeavour at
‘ once to overthrow all the other laws, rites and customs of our
‘ ancestors? I speak this that I may prevent all cavil; not that I
‘ think all laws are immutable, as if they were enacted to last for
‘ ever: No; laws are of different powers, sorts, and kinds: those
‘ which are accommodated to the vicissitudes of times, are sub-
‘ ject to the inconstancy of fortune, and are wont to last so long as
‘ the necessity lasts which imposed them; and those which are
‘ obtruded on men by the wills of tyrants, are commonly disan-
‘ nulled and abrogated with their authors. But as for that in-
‘ stinct or impulse of nature, which is, as it were, a living law,
‘ ordained by God, and deeply imprinted and engraven in men’s
‘ hearts, that no consent of multitudes, nor any degrees of men
‘ can abolish. For, as an excellent poet is reported to have said,
‘ *It was not born yesterday or to-day, but it grew up together with*
‘ *dame nature herself, and lives and dies with her.* And seeing
‘ our law, of which we now speak, is of that sort, and a principal
‘ one too, he doth not oppose the dignity of the queen, who de-
‘ sires that she, of her own accord, would prescribe to herself
‘ those bounds which nature hath appointed, her sex requires,
‘ custom hath established, and the laws made by the consent of all
‘ nations do approve. But they who would have her forget her
‘ sex, would persuade her to break through all bonds of law, and

to disturb the order of things appointed by God, received by use, and allowed in all well governed cities and countries. And certainly, whosoever slights that order, will be grievously punished, not by men only, but by God himself, who will assert his own ordinances. For if good laws threaten a man with death, who shall clothe himself with a woman's apparel; and a woman, if she wear the habit of a man; what punishment can be inflicted on them too great for their offence, who, by a preposterous flattery, would overthrow the whole force of nature, and the everlasting constitution of God himself? Will you understand how these flatterers do not speak what they cordially mean? In a public assembly, to give a vote; to be president in a court of law; to enact or abrogate a law; these are great things in themselves, yet they are but a small portion of public government. Why do not these flatterers bring their wives hither to us, to consult? Why do not they also preside in judicatures? Why do they not persuade, or dissuade laws? Why do not these men look after their domestic affairs at home, and send their wives abroad to the wars? But if they would impose those regents upon us, whom they themselves dare scarce trust in the management of their own household affairs, much less think them fit for the least part of any public business; consider, I pray, how they contradict themselves: but, if conscious of their own infirmity, they speak as they think, and so are restrained by modesty rather than judgment, yet let them hope well of others, who both can and will perform their own, *i. e.* the services proper for men. But if (as I rather judge) they think by this kind of complaisance to gratify the queen, I advise and admonish them to lay aside their false opinion of a princess of so great prudence as she is, and not believe her to be so ignorant of things, as to reckon that an increase and accession of dignity (to her) which would be the foulest thing imaginable in other women. I enter upon this part of my discourse very unwillingly: therefore since our noble princess hath so well deserved of the whole kingdom, that it is fit she should hear nothing which might justly offend her ears or heart; I will not mention those things which ill men do commonly allege, in contemning and undervaluing the sex; I shall rather insist on those virtues which are proper to the queen; and though these are many, and eminently illustrious, yet none of them have procured greater praise and commendation rather than her modesty; which is esteemed so proper to her sex, that even in a private person, it doth either cover, or at least much extenuate other faults. But in our princess, none of whose words or deeds, in regard of the eminency of her birth and condition, can be concealed; it doth shine out so illustriously, that all her other virtues grow much more acceptable, and are more amply commended, merely for the sake of this one virtue. And

‘ therefore I shall need to say but a few words in reference to her,
‘ save only to warn and encourage her to persist in that way to
‘ glory and honour, which she hath already entered upon; and
‘ that she would not give ear to the flatteries of any, so as to be
‘ forgetful of herself; but that she would rather tread the sure and
‘ experienced way to immortal renown, than by running upon
‘ unsafe and craggy precipices, to hazard the splendor of her former life.

‘ But my great business is with you, my lords, who, either out
‘ of envy, are afraid that your betters should be preferred before;
‘ or else, out of a wicked ambition, are laying artfully the foundation of your future favour with a good princess. I will therefore, most noble queen, under the shelter of your prudence, speak freely my thoughts in this case. Such persons do not court you, but your fortune; and whilst they think upon the queen, they forget that the same person is a woman. When I name the word WOMAN (I do not use it reproachfully, but) I mean a person to whom nature hath given many blandishments, and eminent enduements; but withal, hath mingled them (as she usually doth, in the most usual and precious things) with some alloy of infirmity; and therefore would have her to be under the guardianship of another, as not sufficiently able to protect herself; so that she is so far from having an empire over others allotted to her, that the laws, in imitation of nature, do command women to be under the perpetual tutelage of their parents, brothers, or husbands. Neither doth this tend to their reproach, but is a relief to their frailty; for that it keeps them off from those affairs for which they are unfit; it is a kind regard had to their modesty, not a scandal detracting from their honour. I will not take notice how difficultly they are restrained by the vigilance of their husbands, and the authority of their parents: neither will I mention how far the licentiousness of some women hath proceeded, when the reins have been laid on their necks. I shall confine my speech only to what the present case offers, or rather doth enact and require; and which, without damage to the public, cannot be concealed. If there be any thing of private concern amiss in the sex, let their husbands and kindred look to that; I shall only touch what may be publicly prejudicial. Greatness of mind was never required in this sex. It is true, women have their other proper virtues; but as for this, it was always reckoned amongst virile, not female enduements. Besides, the more they are obnoxious to commotions, passions, and other efforts of mind, by reason of the imbecility of their natures, the more doth their extravagancy, having once broke through the restraints of the law, fly out, and is hardly ever reduced, and brought back again within its due bounds; in

‘ regard women are alike impatient, both of diseases, and of their
‘ remedies. But if any of them seem more valiant and coura-
‘ geous, they are so much the more dangerous, as being liable to
‘ more impetuous and vehement passions. For they, who being
‘ weary of their sex, have put off the woman, are very willing to
‘ extend their liberty, even beyond the precincts of a masculine
‘ genius. If you once exceed and pass over the bounds and li-
‘ mits, set by nature, whatsoever is beyond, is infinite; and there
‘ is no boundary left, either for desire or action. Moreover there
‘ is a further accession to this infirmity of nature; for, the less
‘ confidence one hath in himself, the more easily he interprets the
‘ words and actions of others to his own reproach; he is more ve-
‘ hemently angry, and hardly appeased. Such a party doth also
‘ execute revenge more immoderately, and doth punish his de-
‘ spisers with greater hate. Now, that all these things are unfit
‘ for, nay, contrary to magistracy, there is none of you ignorant.
‘ And if any man think that I advise these things of my own head, let
‘ him consider what great disturbances there were, not long ago,
‘ when Joan of Naples reigned. Look over the histories of an-
‘ cient times. I will not mention Semiramis of Assyria, nor La-
‘ odice of Cappadocia; these were monsters, not women. The
‘ celebrated Zenobia Palmyrena, the subduer of the Parthians,
‘ and a match for the Roman emperors, was at last overcome,
‘ taken, and triumphed over: and so herself, and her kingdom,
‘ which was enlarged and increased by her husband Odenatus,
‘ was lost in a moment.

‘ Neither may I pass over in silence, what is principally to be
‘ regarded in the management of other men’s affairs: that the chief
‘ command is not to be entrusted to such sort of persons, who
‘ cannot be called to account for their mal-administration. I do
‘ not at all distrust the ingenuity, faithfulness, nor care of the
‘ queen: but, if any thing be acted amiss (as it often happens) by
‘ the fraud of others; and matters be carried otherwise than the
‘ public good, or the dignity of her place doth require; what
‘ mulct can we exact from the king’s mother? What punish-
‘ ment can we require? Who shall censure her miscarriages?
‘ Shall the highest matters be managed in the meetings of women;
‘ in the nursery, or the dressing-room? Must you there, either
‘ each man in particular subscribe to decrees, or all in general
‘ make them? How will you be able to bear female power armed
‘ with your own authority, which now, when it is without arms,
‘ and subject to you by laws and customs, you can hardly contain
‘ within reasonable bounds? Do not think I speak this, as if I did
‘ fear any such thing from our queen, who is the choicest, and
‘ modestest of all women; but because I think it base and unseem-
‘ ly for us, who have all things yet in our own hands, to place

‘ the hope of our safety, which we may owe to ourselves, only in
‘ another’s power ; especially since both divine and human laws,
‘ the custom of our ancestors, nay, and the consent of all nations
‘ throughout the whole world, make for us. ’Tis true, some na-
‘ tions have endured women to be their sovereigns ; but they were
‘ not elected to that dignity by suffrages, but were cast upon
‘ them by their birth ; but never any people, who had freedom of
‘ vote, when there was plenty of men to chuse, did ever prefer
‘ women before them. And therefore, most eminent patriots, I
‘ advise, and earnestly entreat you, that according to the laws of
‘ our country, and the customs of our ancestors, we chuse one ;
‘ or, if you think fit, more ; the BEST out of the *noblest* and *best*,
‘ who may undertake the regency, till the king arrive at that
‘ strength both of body and mind, as to be able to manage the go-
‘ vernment himself. And I pray God to bless your proceedings in
‘ this affair.’

Thus spoke Kennedy, and had the approbation of an undoubted majority of the assembly ; and the rest, perceiving that it was in vain to oppose, went over to his opinion. Now the matter was thus composed, that neither party might seem to have the better of the other ; two of each faction were chosen for the guardianship of the king, who were to manage all public affairs with fidelity ; to collect and expend the king’s revenue ; and to undertake the charge of the royal family. Of the queen’s side, William Graham and Robert Boyd, then chancellor ; of the other, Robert earl of Orkney and John Kennedy ; all, on both sides, the chief of their families. To these were added the two bishops of Glasgow and Caledonia. The queen was allowed to be assisting in the king’s education ; but she was not to touch any part of the public government. As for the other children, which were four, viz. Alexander duke of Albany, and John earl of Marr, and two young females, she had the charge of their education herself.

Matters being thus composed at home, ambassadors from England had their audience, who desired a truce : which was granted for fifteen years. The next year, which was 1463, the king’s mother died, and had the unhappiness to be not well spoken off in point of chastity. The same year, Alexander, the king’s brother, returning from his grandfather by the mother’s side, out of France, was taken prisoner by the English ; but freed soon after, in regard the Scots urged it as a breach of the truce, and threatened a war should be the consequence of it.

Peace being obtained abroad, it was not long before intestine commotions rose at home ; for the disputes betwixt the nobility, concerning the state of the kingdom, magnified by vulgar rumours, and the king’s minority, together with the fresh remembrance of the licentiousness of the late times ; all put together,

did easily let loose the reins to men, who were turbulent enough in their own nature. Allan of Lorn, a seditious person, desirous to enjoy the estate of John his elder brother, kept him prisoner; intending there to detain him so long alive, till the hatred of his cruel practice did, with time, abate, and so he yield to his will and pleasure. When Calen Campbell, earl of Argyle, heard of it, he gathered a band of his tenants together, freed John, and cast Allan into prison, in his room; resolving to carry him to court, that he might suffer punishment for that, as well as for his other noted robberies; but he prevented his punishment by death, whether voluntary or casual, is not known.

In another part of the country, Donald, the islander, as being a more powerful person, began to make a far greater commotion; for, after the king's death, being free from fear, and judging that turbulent state of things to be a fit opportunity for him to injure his inferiors, and to increase his own powers, came to Inverness, with no great train, and was kindly invited into the castle by the governor; who had no thoughts, or so much as the least fear, of any hostility from him. When he was entered, he turned out the garrison, seized upon the castle, and gathering his islanders about him, proclaimed himself *king of the islands*. He sent forth edicts into the neighbouring countries, *That the inhabitants should pay tribute to none but himself; and that they should acknowledge no other lord or master, denouncing a great penalty to those that did otherwise.* The news of it made persons, debauched in their principles, flock to him from all parts; so that having made up an army great enough, he entered Athol with such wonderful dispatch, that he took the earl of that name, who was the king's uncle, and his wife, prisoners, before they suspected any such thing. For the earl, hearing the sudden tumult of a war, distrusted the strength of his castle of Blair, and went into the church of St. Bride's near adjoining, to defend himself there, as in a sanctuary, by the religion of the place. Many also of his vassals and countrymen, being surprised at the sudden dangers, carried and laid up their best goods there. That church was venerated, in those parts, with great ceremony; and it had remained inviolate to that very day, by reason of the great opinion of its sanctity; but the consideration of gain was more prevalent with that savage and avaricious person, than any sense of religion; for he violently pulled out the earl and his wife from thence, and a great number of prisoners besides; and, after he had pillaged the church, he set it on fire. And, when the priests spoke to him, to deter him from that sacrilege, he killed some of them, and sent the others away, but not without having received tokens of his barbarity. Then, having wasted the adjacent countries up and down, with fire and sword, as he was returning home with a

great booty, a sudden tempest arose, which sunk many of his ships, and grievously distressed the rest; so that he, with a few only of his followers, were rather cast up, than landed, on the island of Isla. They who survived this shipwreck, thinking that this calamity happened to them by the manifest anger of the Deity, because they had violated the church of St. Bride, went barefooted, and covered only with a little linen garment, in an humble manner, to carry gifts to her, whom a few days before they had so contumeliously abused. 'Tis reported, that from that day forward, Donald their commander, fell out of his wits, either for grief that he had lost his army and the spoil; or because his mind, though brutish, was at length galled with the conscience of his irreligious sacrilege, and contempt of divine worship. This misfortune of their commander occasioned his kindred to set the earl of Athol and his children at liberty, and to atone St. Bride with many large and expiatory gifts.

When the news of these things was brought to court, it broke off their consultations of making any expedition against the islanders. The first tumults being appeased, the administration of Scottish affairs was carried on with so much equity and tranquillity, that the oldest man then alive, never remembered more secure, quiet and halcyon days; such was the prudence and gravity of James Kennedy, on whose authority the court did then principally depend), and such the modesty of the rest of the nobility, who did not grudge to yield obedience to the wiser sort. For this James Kennedy had obtained such reputation, by his many merits and services to his country, and by his good offices towards the former king; nay, he had procured such a great opinion of his fidelity in all matters, by reason of the composedness of his manners, and his near alliance to the king, that the rest of the king's guardians, that were to succeed one another, two and two by turns, did willingly admit and suffer him whenever he came to court, to be the sole censor and supervisor of the pains and diligence they took in that service. By this their concord, the king's education was carried regularly on; and his own towardliness and ingenuity being a help to their industry, all men conceived great hopes of him.

Thus matters were carried on, till about the sixth year of the king's reign. There was then at court, Robert Boyd, the chief of his family, who, besides his large personal estate, was allied to many other great and noble families: He had also a flourishing stock of children of his own, as Thomas and Robert. He had a brother too, named Alexander, who was well instructed and versed in all polite letters. This Alexander, at the desire of John Kennedy, his kinsman, (who, by reason of his declining age, was not so fit for youthful exercises), and with the consent of the rest of the

king's tutors, was preferred to the king, to teach him the rudiments of the art military; in the knowledge whereof he was esteemed to exceed all his equals. The Boyds, upon the account of these advantages, were not content with that place and authority, though it was very great and honourable, which they had at court; but farther sought to transfer all public offices into their own family. To accomplish which, Alexander was desired by them, to incline the king's favour towards them. He having to deal with a king, tender of age, and very pliant, did so insinuate into him, by his flattering complaisance, that he could do any thing he pleased with him. Being admitted into such familiar intimacy and converse, he would oft let words drop before the king, that he was now fit to hold the reins of government himself; and that it was time for him to be freed from the servitude of old grey-beards, and to maintain a company of noble military youths about him; that so he might enter into those studies betimes, wherein, whether he would or no, he was likely to pass the remaining part of his life. Discourses of this kind were easily entertained by a youth, unskilful in matters, and in the slippery part of his age too, which was prone to liberty; so that he began to be a little stubborn and headstrong against his governors: Some things he would do without their advice, many against it; as seeking an opportunity to be delivered from the severity of those seniors, as from a kind of bondage and imprisonment. Whereupon, going from Linlithgow a hunting, unknown to Kennedy, whose turn it was then to wait; the old man, being informed thereof, went forth to overtake him, not far from the town; and, having done so, he took his horse by the bridle, and endeavoured to stop, and bring him back; alleging, that it was no convenient time, nor was his company fitting for such an exercise. Hereupon, Alexander ran in, and with the bow, which he had in his hand, broke the old man's head, tho' he deserved better things at his hands. Kennedy being thus beat off, as a troublesome hinderer of their sport, they proceeded on to the place they intended to go; while Kennedy returned, with a wound, into the town. And when Robert Boyd came again to court, he did not disapprove of what his brother Alexander had done. By this means, the seeds of enmity were sown between two factions, which grew up to the great detriment of the kingdom, and at length, to the total destruction of one of them.

The feud was first discovered upon this occasion: The Boyds would have the king removed from that place to Edinburgh; but Kennedy, and his party, would have Stirling to be the place of his residence. The Boyds could then do most at court; and so, without public consent, they carried the king to Edinburgh, there to enter upon the regal government. The attendants of the journey

were, besides their own kindred, Adam Hepburn, John Somerville, and Andrew Carr, all heads of their respective families. This was acted about the 10th of July, in the year 1466. The Kennedys having lost the day in the dispute, departed severally to their own homes, John into Carrick, James into Fife; their minds swelling with anger, and resolving to omit no opportunity of revenge. The Boyds, thus conquerors, not contented with the wrong they had done, sent John an ape in a jeer, for the old man to play and sport himself with at home; thereby upbraiding him as if he had doted for age.

Not long after, James Kennedy departed this life; maturely enough, if we respect his age; but his death was so lamented by all good men, as if in him they had lost a public father. For in that man, besides the virtues above mentioned, there was an high degree of frugality and continence at home, yet great splendour and magnificence abroad. He exceeded the preceding bishops, nay, and all those that succeeded him in that see to this very day, in liberality to the public; and yet notwithstanding, his own ecclesiastical revenues were not great; for as yet the Scots had not arrived at the ill custom of heaping up steeples upon steeples; nor had learned to spend that *worse* upon luxury, which was before *ill* gotten by avarice. He left one eminent monument of his munificence behind him, and that was the public schools at St. Andrews, which he built with great expence, and endowed with large revenues, but issuing out of church incomes. He gave order, that a magnificent monument should be erected for himself there: which yet, (such was the malignity of men) he was envied for, though he had deserved so well privately of most men, and publicly of all. They alleged, it was a thing of too much vanity, to bestow so much cost upon a structure of no use. His death made his virtues more illustrious, and increased men's desire after him: for, when he, who was a perpetual censor and corrector of manners was once removed out of the way, the public discipline began, by degrees, to grow weak and remiss; and at last to be so corrupt, as to bring almost all things, with itself, to ruin.

The Boyds made use of pretences in law, to increase the domestic power of their family, and abate the power of their enemies. And first, Patrick Graham seemed most fit for their purpose; he was the brother of James Kennedy by the same mother, and was also cousin by the mother's side to Robert Boyd. He, as the manner was in those days, was elected bishop by the canons, in the room of his brother James; but was hindered by the court faction, from having the king's leave to go to Rome; so that he went privately to the pope, without any train, and so was easily admitted into his brother's place; for, besides the nobleness of his blood, and the great recommendation of his high

virtues, he was also well learned for those times. And therefore, whilst he staid at Rome, fearing the power of the adverse faction; the old controversy concerning the liberty of the church of Scotland, began to be revived; for the archbishop of York pretended that the bishops of Scotland were under his jurisdiction, so that he endeavoured to retain that power in the time of peace, which had been usurped in the licentious times of war. But a decree was made at Rome, in favour of the Scots; and Graham was not only made primate of Scotland, but also was constituted the pope's legate there for three years, to inquire into the degenerate manners and conversations of priests; and to restore decayed ecclesiastical discipline to its pristine integrity and state. And yet this great man, though so illustrious for enduements of mind and fortune, and having also the superadded authority of the pope to back him, durst not return home, till the power of the Boyds was in a declining condition at court.

The Boyds perceiving, that the concourse of the nobility to them, was not so great as they hoped; to avert the accusations of their enemies, and provide for their own security for the future, they caused a public assembly, or parliament, to be summoned against the 13th day of October. There Robert Boyd the elder fell down on his knees before the king and his counsellors of state, complaining, that his service to the king, in bringing him to Edinburgh, was ill interpreted, and traduced by the malign speeches of his adversaries, who gave out threatening words; that the advisers to that journey should one day suffer punishment for the same; and therefore, he humbly besought the king, that if he had conceived any ill-will or disgust in his mind against him for that journey that he would openly declare it; that so the calumnies of his detractors might be either prevented or allayed. The king having advised a little with the *Lords of the Articles*, made answer, that Robert was not his adviser in it, but rather his companion in that journey; and therefore, that he was more worthy of a reward for his courtesy, than of punishment for his obsequiousness and compliance therein; and this he was willing to declare in a public decree of the estates, so to put a stop to all invidious discourse. And, in the same decree, provision should be made, that that matter should never be prejudicial to Robert, nor his companions. Boyd desired, that this decree might be registered amongst the acts of assembly; and that the same might be confirmed also by letters patent under the great seal. And accordingly the decree was presently registered amongst the acts, and the letters patent were delivered to him soon after, viz. the 25th day of the same month. The same day also, the king, by advice of his council, gave him other letters patent, wherein he was constituted regent, and had the safety of the king, his brothers, sisters, towns, castles, and

all the jurisdictions over his subjects, committed to him, till he himself came to twenty-one years of age. And he dealt so with the nobles then present, that they solemnly promised to be assistant to the Boyds in all their public actions; and that they would be liable to punishment, if they did not carefully, and with faithfulness, perform what they now promised. To this stipulation or promise, the king also subscribed.

By this means, the king being declared their friend, part of the nobility in league with them, and also the administration of the whole government put into their hands, they thought themselves sufficiently secured for a long time. Nay, and to lay a foundation also for the future greatness of their posterity, they brought it about, that Thomas Boyd, the son of Robert, should marry the king's eldest sister. That marriage, as it was opulent, and seemed a prop and establishment of their power, so it increased the hatred of their enemies, and gave occasion to variety of discourse among the vulgar. For, although by this means all passage to the king's ear seemed to be precluded, and they alone made the sole arbiters of his words and actions; yet they did not flourish so much in favour at court, as they were prosecuted with public hatred abroad; which, after four year's concealment, did at last break out, to the destruction of their whole family. And the wiser sort of the adverse party did not much dislike their sudden increase of honour; for they hoped (as it is usual) *That arrogance would be the companion of their exaltation, which would not endure a superior, would despise an equal, and trample upon an inferior. And when the bounds of a subject's condition are exceeded, it also awakens kings, who are impatient of co-rivals, to overthrow such suspected persons.* The noise of this discord betwixt such potent factions, let loose the reins to popular licentiousness; for the people accustomed to robberies did, by intervals, more eagerly return to their former trade. The seeds of hatred, which were suppressed for a time, did now bud forth again with greater vigour; and the seditious willingly laid hold on these occasions for disturbances; so that there was a general liberty taken to do what men listed, in hopes of impunity.

Neither was the Kennedys wanting to the occasion, who partly spread abroad rumours to inflame the people, and to cast all the cause of their disturbance and miseries upon the Boyds; and partly also (as some thought) were not much averse from the design of the seditious, but slyly and secretly threw fuel into the fire. This was plain and evident by their very countenances, that this troublesome state of affairs was not unpleasant or unacceptable to them. There seemed but only one thing wanting, utterly to subvert the flourishing power of their enemies, and that was,

to make the king of their party; for they had strength enough, or too much: they knew that the *commonalty*, *who affect innovations, and love every thing more than what is present*, would crowd in to their party. Upon this they agreed to try the king's mind, by some crafty persons, who should pretend themselves to be lovers of the Boyddian faction.

In the interim, ambassadors were appointed to go to Denmark, to desire Margaret, the daughter of that king, might be given in marriage to king James; and that they should take all the care they could, that the old controversy concerning the Orcades and the isles of Shetland, which had cost both nations so much blood, might be accorded. The chief of the embassy was Andrew Stewart, son to Walter, who was then chancellor of Scotland. The Danes easily assented to the marriage, and they quitted all their right which their ancestors claimed over all the islands about Scotland, in the name of a dowry; only the private owners of estates in those islands were to enjoy them upon the same terms as they had formerly done. Some write, that they were made over in a mortgage, till the dowry was paid, but that afterward the king of Denmark gave up all his right in them for ever to his grandson James, who was newly born.

When the chancellor had informed the king, that all things were finished according to his desire, the next consult was, to send an handsome train of nobles to bring over the new queen. And here, by the fraud of his enemies, and inadvertency of his friends, Thomas Boyd, son of Robert earl of Arran, was chosen ambassador, his very enemies purposely commending his aptness for that employment, by reason of his valour, splendor and estate, fit for such a magnificent errand. He judging all things safe at home, in regard his father was regent, willingly undertook the employment, and, at the beginning of autumn, with a good train of friends and followers, he went a ship-board.

In the mean time, the Kennedys had loosened the king's affection to the Boyds; and whereas these thought to retain his good-will by pleasures and vacations from public cares, those very suits the other imputed as crimes to them; and by magnifying their wealth, great in itself, as too bulky, and even dangerous to the king; and withal alleging, what a great addition would accrue to his exchequer, from the confiscation of their estates, upon their conviction, they put strange scruples into the weak mind of the king, who was naturally inclined to suspicions and avarice. The Boyds, on the other side, though they endeavoured by their obsequious flatteries, and their hiding the public miseries from him, to banish all melancholy thoughts out of his mind; yet the complaints of the vulgar, and the solitariness of the court, both which were, of set purpose, contrived and increased by their ene-

mies, could not be hid. And besides, there were some, who, when the king was alone, discoursed him freely concerning the public calamities, and the way to remedy them; nay, the king himself, as now grown up to manly cares, declared, that what was sometimes acted abroad did not please him. But the Boyds, though they perceived that the king was every day less and less tractable to them than formerly; and withal, that popular envy rose higher and higher against them; yet remitted nothing of their old licentiousness, as trusting to the king's former lenity, and to the amnesty which they had for what was past.

Whereupon the contrary faction, having secretly wrought over the king to their party, and Thomas earl of Arran, being sent packing ambassador into Denmark, from whence he was not expected to return till late in the spring, because those northern seas are tempestuous and unpassable for a great part of the year; upon these accounts they thought it a fit season to attempt the Boyds, who were old and diseased, and therefore came seldom to court; and besides, were destitute of the aid of many of their friends, who were gone away in the train of the embassy. The first thing they did was, to persuade the king to call a parliament, which had been much longed for by many, to meet at Edinburgh on the twenty-second day of November, in the year 1469. Thither the Boyds, two brothers, were summoned to come and make their appearance; where matters were variously carried in respect of them, just as hatred directed some, or favour disposed others. But they were so astonished at this sudden blow, as having made no great provision against so imminent a danger, that their minds were quite dejected, not so much because of the power of the adverse faction, as by reason of the sudden alienation of the king's mind from them; so that Robert, in despair of his safety, fled into England; but Alexander, who by reason of his sickness could not fly, was called to his answer. The crime objected to both the brothers was, that they had laid hands on the king, and of their own heads had carried him to Edinburgh. Alexander alleged, that he had obtained his pardon for that offence in a public convention, and therefore he humbly desired, that a copy of that pardon might be transcribed out of the parliament rolls; but this was denied him. What his accusers objected against that pardon, the writers of those times do not record; and I, though a conjecture be not very difficult to be made in the case, yet had rather leave the whole matter to the reader's thoughts, than to affirm uncertainties for truths. Alexander was condemned on his trial, and had his head cut off. Robert, a few years after, died at Alnwick in England, the grief of banishment being added to the pains of his old age. His son, though absent, and that upon a public business, was declared a public enemy, without being granted a hear-

ing; and all their estates were confiscated. Thus stood the matter of fact: but I shall not conceal what I have heard some good men, and not ignorant of the history of those times affirm. They say, that the amnesty given to the Boyds, was thus worded in the records: That the king forgave them all the prejudice and rancour of mind (as they then phrased it) which he might have conceived against them; which they, who were willing to gratify the king, did interpret (according to the distinction then celebrated amongst divines, concerning the remission of the fault, and of punishment) after this manner, That, though the king forgave him his personal resentment, yet they were not exempted from the punishment of the law. Thomas Boyd, when he heard of the calamity of his family, though some put him in hopes of pardon, in a time of public rejoicing, yet durst not come ashore; but being informed by his wife, who, upon the first news of the approach of the Danish fleet, went immediately to him, that there was no hopes of re-admission to the king's favour, his enemies having stopt all avenues thereunto, sailed back into Denmark, whence he came, and so travelled through Germany into France, where he in vain endeavoured to obtain the mediation of Lewis XI. (who then had turned the legitimate empire of the French into a tyranny) for his reconciliation; and therefore he went to Charles of Burgundy, where he behaved himself valiantly, and did him much faithful service in the wars, for which he was well rewarded by him with honour and profit. There he lived a private, yet honourable life; and his wife bore him a son, called James, and a daughter called Grekin, of which in their place.

The marriage of James III. and queen Margaret, was celebrated with a great concourse of the nobility, on the the tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1470. Three years after this marriage, on St. Patrick's day, in March, was born James, who succeeded his father in the kingdom.

In the interim, the king, not yet satisfied with the misery of the Boyds, writes over into Flanders, to recal his sister home; but knowing that she bore so great a love to her husband, that she would hardly be induced to part from him, he caused others to write to her, giving her some hopes, that the king's anger might, in time, be appeased towards her husband, and that no doubt was to be made, but she herself might prevail much with her brother for his relief; but that she must come to plead for him in presence, and not commit his apology to others. Upon these hopes she returned, and was no sooner arrived in Scotland, but the king transacts with her about a divorce; and accordingly he affixed public libels and citations, attested by many witnesses, at Kilmarnock (which was the chief house of the Boyds, before their fall) where Thomas was commanded to appear in six-

ty days; whereas all men knew, that though the public faith had been given him, yet he would hardly have returned: He not appearing at the day, the former marriage was pronounced null, and a divorce decreed, though the husband was absent and unheard; and so Mary the king's sister was compelled, against her will, to marry James Hamilton, a man raised but a little before, and much inferior to her former husband in estate and dignity; yet she bore him a son named James, and a daughter called Margaret. The children she had by her former husband were also recalled by the king. Nor did Boyd long survive this. He died at Antwerp, and having no kinsman there to claim his estate, Charles of Burgundy caused a magnificent monument to be erected for him, with the money which he had munificently bestowed upon him, in the church of . . . whereon an honourable epitaph was inscribed. Thus the family of the Boyds, which then was the most flourishing one in Scotland, within a few years, grew up, and was cut down, to the great astonishment of posterity: *What slippery things the favours of young kings are!*

Their ruin did not only amaze their friends, but it also terrified their very enemies; so that none would adventure to aspire to that dignity, from whence they were cast down; partly upon account of the instability of human affairs, and partly in consideration of the king's sudden repentance for bestowing of his graces and favours, and his continued perseverance in his hatred when once begun. This is certain, that they who were raised to great hopes of preferment, by this change of public affairs, found themselves much mistaken: for the king, who before that time had used himself to domestic ease, and seldom appeared in public, being, now also newly married, spent a great part of his time in the pleasures of his palace; he excluded the nobility, and was wholly governed by a few of his servants; for being of an eager and fervid disposition, he could not well bear to be contradicted in his own will; so that he avoided the liberty which the nobles would take in advising him, and had only those about him who would not reprehend, but rather approve of what he did; that so by avoiding every occasion of offence, and by using all the flattery they could, they might gain his favour. Amidst these manners of the court, the ecclesiastical state was not much better. For though the ministers of the church had been given of old to luxury and avarice, yet there was still some shadow of ancient gravity remaining, so that some encouragement was given to learning, and advantage to such as were good proficients therein; for the bishops were chosen by the colleges of canons, and the abbots by their respective sodalities: But now the parasite courtiers persuaded the king (for they only had his heart and ear) that it would be very advantageous to him, and that those with whom he had to deal would not be a-

ble to hinder his design, if he recalled and assumed the designation of such offices to himself, and would not suffer matters of so great advantage to rest in the hands of such a drowsy generation of people, unfit for any public business, as ecclesiastics were. The king was easily persuaded to this, in regard they alleged, that by this means, besides other advantages, he might have opportunity to curb the contumacious, to confirm the wavering, and to reward the well deserving; but, said they, in our present circumstances, promotions and honours are in the hands of the dregs of the vulgar, who are as parsimonious in case of public necessities, as they are profuse in their private pleasures; that all men should depend upon the king alone, so that he might have the sole power of punishing, pardoning, and rewarding.

By these and the like flattering arguments, they persuaded the king to their opinion, for his mind was not yet confirmed by ripeness of years; besides, it was weakened by ill custom, and not fortified against the temptations of money-matters; and moreover, he was naturally prone to liberty. Hereupon a new face of things presently appeared throughout the whole kingdom, and all matters, both sacred and civil, were brought to court to be huckstered and sold, as in a public fair. But Patrick Graham was the only man who endeavoured to stop the precipitous ruin of the church. When his enemies swayed all at home, he staid at Rome some years; but being there informed by his friends, in what state things were, he, trusting in his alliance to the king, being the son of his great aunt, resolved to return home; but, that he might make some essay of the minds of men beforehand, he sent the bull which he had obtained from the pope, for his legantine power, and caused it to be proclaimed and published in the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1472, which raised up much envy against him. For they that had bought ecclesiastical honours at court, were afraid to lose both their prey and money too; and they who thought to make advantage by this court-sale, were grieved to be thus disappointed. Nay, that faction did no less storm, that had mercenarily obtained ecclesiastical preferments from the king, in order to sell them to others. Their fear was, that this gainful practice would be taken out of their hands. All these made a conspiracy against Patrick, and, in his absence, loaded him with reproaches. They came to court, and complained that their ancient laws, as well as the king's late decrees, were violated; and that the Romanists were carrying on many matters, very prejudicial to the kingdom; and, unless the king did speedily oppose their exorbitance, they would quickly bring all things under their power; nay, make the king himself bend under them.

To prevent this danger, there were some sent, by order of

council, to Patrick, when he had scarce set his foot on shore, to forbid him to execute any part of his office, until the king had heard the complaints made against him; and a day was appointed him to appear, which was the first of November, at Edinburgh, in order to an hearing.

In the mean time, when his friends and relations assured him, that the king would do what was equitable in so just a cause; the adverse faction hearing of it, did so engage the king and his courtiers, by the promises of great sums of money, that Patrick could never have a fair hearing afterwards. When he was come to the assembly, he produced the pope's bull and grant, wherein he was constituted archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland, and the pope's legate for three years, to order ecclesiastical affairs. The inferior sort of priests were glad of the thing, that an office so necessary was put into the hands of so pious and learned a man; but they did not dare to speak it out, for fear of some powerful persons, who had got the ear of the king and his counsellors. His adversaries made their appeal to the pope, who alone could be judge in the case, which they did on purpose to create delay; so that the favour of the people towards Patrick might in time abate. He himself was sent back by the king to his church, but forbid to wear the robes of an archbishop, till the cause was determined. Neither was he to perform any office, but what the former bishops had done before him.

Whilst these things were acting, William Sivez rose up, a new enemy against Patrick, but the bitterest of all the rest; and that upon a light occasion. He was a young man of a ready wit, and had lived some years at Louvain, under the tutorage of John Sperinc, a man well skilled in the study of physick and astrology; and returning home, he quickly insinuated himself into the favour of the courtiers; partly upon the account of his other accomplishments, and partly because of his boasted knowledge of celestial matters. This endowment won him great respect from the court, which was then addicted to all sorts of divinations, even to madness: so that this Sivez being of an acute wit, and in great favour at court, was soon made archdeacon of St. Andrews; but the bishop would not admit him to that office. Upon this, he entered into a consultation with John Lock, rector of the public schools there, and a pretended friend of Patrick's; and they together employed all their engines to work his overthrow. The rector, having a grant from the pope, whereby he was privileged and exempted from Patrick's jurisdiction, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against him. But he so slighted this commination from one of an inferior order to himself, that though, when he came to court, it was twice or thrice served upon him, yet he went on in his ordinary course of life. Whereupon his enemies

(as is usual in cases, where ecclesiastical cases are contemned) implored the assistance of the king, and got Patrick excluded from all the churches. Officers of the exchequer were sent to, to take an inventory of all his goods. His retinue was commanded, under an heavy penalty, to depart; and a guard was set upon him, to observe, that he did nothing contrary to the edict. The rest of the bishops, that they might not seem ungrateful towards so benevolent a king, levied a great sum of money, which they violently extorted out of small benefices, and presented him with it. The king being master of such a sum, seemed to deal more mildly with Patrick, as if he took pity on him; and accordingly he sent the abbot of Holyrood, and Sivez to him. Whereupon the bishop was reconciled to the king; and also Sivez and the bishop were made friends; but his friends' contributions were gathered up before, and carried to the king. Now Patrick seemed to be freed of all his troubles, and so he retired to his manor-house of Monimul, and prepared himself for the execution of his office, both publicly and privately: when, behold! the Roman money-mongers were sent in upon him, by his adversaries; and because he had not paid his fees for the pope's grant (or bull, as they call it) they likewise excommunicated him. The man was reduced to extreme poverty; for his revenues, both before and after his return, were, for the most part, gathered up by the king's collectors, and brought into his exchequer, and whatever his friends could make up, was given to the king and his courtiers. And when the king's officers were again sent to take possession of his estate, guards were set upon him by the king; his household servants were discharged, and he was kept prisoner in his castle, and so was deprived even of the use of his reason. William Sivez, his capital enemy, was first imposed upon him by the king, and afterwards approved by the pope, as his coadjutor, as they call him, as of a man that was beside himself. The said Sivez was made inquisitor, by the power of the adverse faction, to inquire into his life and conversation; many trifling, and many ridiculous and incredible things were objected against him; and amongst the rest was this one, *That he had said mass thrice in one day*; whereas, in that age, there was hardly a bishop who did the same in three months. Thus his enemy being his judge, and the witnesses against him hired, he was turned out of his bishopric; and Sivez, who carried the decree to the pope, was made bishop in his room. Neither were his enemies contented with this mischief they had done him; but, perceiving he bore all their contumelies with much greatness of spirit, they made an order, that he should be shut up in some desolate monastery, under four keepers; Inchcolm was chosen to be the place, a rock rather than an island; from whence, three years after, he was removed to Dunfermline, for fear of the English fleet, betwixt whom and the Scots a war had then broke.

forth. And from thence he was again carried to the castle, which lies at Lochleven; where, being worn out with age and miseries, he departed this life. He was a man guilty of no known vice; and in learning and virtue inferior to none of his age. The other good men, terrified by his calamity, and perceiving no hopes of any church-reformation, went all about their own private affairs. In the court, church-preferments were either sold, or else given away to flatterers and panders, as a reward for their vile and filthy services.

Though these things were acted at different times, yet I have put them altogether in my discourse, that so the thread of my history might not be broke too often; and also, that by one memorable example, we might have an entire view of the miseries of those times; for one may easily imagine how miserable the ordinary sort of men were, since a man that was so eminent for all kind of virtue, and besides, had the advantage to be allied to the king, and so many noble families, was, by a few scoundrels of the lower sort, exposed to the reproach and cruelty of his enemies. But to return to the other occurrences of those times.

In the year 1476, there was a public decree made against John, lord of the islands, who had seized upon some provinces, and had done great spoil on the maritime coasts; insomuch that the king resolved in person to march against him by land, and commanded the earl of Crawford, his admiral, to meet him by sea. Hereupon John perceiving that he was too weak to withstand such preparation, by the advice of the earl of Athol, the king's uncle, came in an humble manner to court, and surrendered up himself to the king's mercy. The provinces which he had forcibly entered upon, were taken from him, as Ross, Kintyre, and Knapdale. But he was suffered still to continue in the command of the islands. The same year, the dispute with the English, which was just about to break out into a war, was decided. The occasion was this: James Kennedy had built a ship, the largest that had been seen to sail upon the ocean. At that time as she was at sea, a tempest cast her upon the English shore, and her lading was rifled by the English. Restitution was often sought for, but in vain. This bred a disgust betwixt the nations for some years. At last, the English sent ambassadors into Scotland; the chief of which were the bishop of Durham, and Scroop a nobleman. By these ambassadors, king Edward, who had been tossed by the inconstancy of fortune, and whose exchequer was drained by continual wars, desired a treaty of peace; which was easily renewed, upon condition that a due estimate might be made of the ship that was rifled, and its lading, by indifferent persons, and just satisfaction made.

The same year ambassadors were sent to Charles duke of Burgundy, in behalf of the merchants who were disturbed in

their trade. When they came into Flanders, they were honourably received by him. One Andrews a physician, and a great astrologer too, being occasionally invited by them to supper, understanding the cause of their coming, took them aside, and told them, that they should not make too much haste in their embassy; for, in a few days they should hear other news of the duke. And accordingly his prediction was fulfilled; for within three days after, the duke's army was overthrown by the Switzers, at the city of Nantz in Lorrain; where he was killed. Hereupon the ambassadors returned, without effecting their business. And when they came to the king, and told him, how highly skilled that Andrews was, in predicting things to come, they persuaded him, who of himself was inclinable to those arts, to send for the man, upon promises of a good reward. And accordingly he came, was well received, and gratified with a rich parsonage, and other boons. He, as it is reported, told the king, that he should speedily be destroyed by his own subjects. And that speech agreed with the vaticinations of some wizardly women (to which the king was immoderately addicted) who had prophesied, *That a lion should be killed by his whelps.* Hereupon, from a prince, at first of great ingenuity and good hopes, and as yet not wholly depraved, he degenerated into a fierce and cruel tyrant; for when his mind had entertained and was stuffed with suspicions, he accounted even his nearest kindred, and all the best of the nobility, as his enemies. And the nobles were also disgusted at him, partly by reason of his familiarity with that rascally sort of people; but chiefly because he slighted the nobility, and chose mean persons to be his counsellors and advisers. The chief of them was Thomas Preston, one of a good family, but who resolved to humour the king in all things; Robert Cochrane, a man endowed with great strength of body and equal audacity of mind; he came to be known to the king by a duel which he fought with another; and presently from an architect came to be made a courtier, and was put in a fair way of rising to some greater advancement; for, having performed some lighter matters, entrusted to him with diligence, and also accommodating himself to the king's humour, he was soon admitted to advise concerning the grand affairs of the kingdom; insomuch that Preston chose him to be his son-in-law. The third was William Rogers, an English singing man, or musician, who coming into Scotland with the English ambassadors, after the king had heard him once or twice, he was so taken with him, that he would not suffer him to return, but advanced him to wealth and honour; and, in a short time, made him a knight. The rest of his intimates were the most despicable sort of the meanest tradesmen, who were only known by their improbity, and had

nothing to recommend them but their boldness. Whereupon the nobility had a meeting, wherein the king's two brothers were chief, to purge the court from that sort of cattle: And some notice of it being divulged abroad, John, the youngest of the brothers, more unwary than the rest, speaking a little too boldly and rashly concerning the state of the kingdom, was seized upon by the courtiers, cast into prison, condemned by the king's privy council, and put to death, by having a vein opened till he expired. The cause of his death was given out amongst the vulgar, to be, because he had conspired with witches against the king's life: And, to make the matter more plausible, twelve witches, of the lowest condition, were tried and burnt. The death of John did rather stifle, than dissipate the conspiracy, which seemed almost ready to break forth.

Alexander, the next, as in blood, so in danger, though he endeavoured to avert all suspicion from himself, as much as he could; yet the king's officers thought they could never be secure, as long as he was alive; and therefore they presently clapped him up prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh; where he was strictly kept up by those who judged his power would be their destruction: And seeing he could not appease the king's wrath by the mediation of his friends, he began to think of making an escape: He had but one of his servants left to wait upon him in his chamber. Him, and none else, he acquainted with his design; who hired a vessel to be ready for him in the adjoining road; then he suborned messengers to make frequent errands to him from the court, who should tell him stories before his keepers (for he was forbid to speak with any body, but in their presence) that the king was now more reconciled to him, than formerly; and that he would speedily be set at liberty. When the day appointed for his escape approached, he composed his countenance to as much mirth, as in that calamitous condition he was able to do; and told his keepers that now he believed by the messages sent him from the king, that he was reconciled to him; and that he hoped he should not be much longer in durance. Accordingly he invited them to a noble supper, and himself drank freely with them, till late at night; then they departed; and, being all full of wine, fell into the sounder sleep. Thus left entirely to himself, he made a rope of the sheets of his bed, long enough, as he thought, for the height of the wall; and first, to make a trial, he made his servant slide down by it; but perceiving, by his fall, that it was too short, he lengthened it out as well as he could in those circumstances, and himself slid down too, and took up his servant, who had broke his leg by his fall, upon his shoulders, and carried him about a mile to the vessel, where they went aboard; and having a fair wind, they sailed to Dunbar; there

he fortified the castle against any forcible assault, and, with a small retinue, went over into France. In his absence, Andrew Stuart, the chancellor was sent with an army to take the castle: They besieged it closely some months, and it was defended as bravely: But at last the garrison, for want of necessities, were forced to get vessels, and in the night to depart privately for England; so that in the morning the empty castle was taken by the besiegers. Some men of note, of the besiegers, were slain there.

Much about this time it was, that the kings, both of England and Scotland, wearied out with domestic troubles, had each of them a desire to make peace, and an embassy from England was appointed to complete it; which was kindly received: And the peace was not only agreed upon, but an affinity accorded to confirm it; that Cecilia, the daughter of Edward, should be married to James the Scottish king's son, as soon as they were both marriageable. Part also of the dowry was paid, on this condition, that if, *when they came to years, the marriage was not consummated, the dowry should be paid back to the English.* And hostages were given for performance of conditions; which were some burghers of towns. But this peace lasted not long, for, by reason of the grudges remaining since the last wars, incursions were made, plunders committed, and villages burnt. Both sides were so inflamed by these mutual injuries, that it broke out at last into an open war. And, besides, each king had other peculiar provocations. Douglas, the old, and Alexander the late exile, the king's brother, stirred up the English king to war. For Alexander, as I said before, going into France, married the daughter of the earl of Boulogne; but, not being able to procure aid from Lewis XI. then king of France, for the recovery of his own, he sailed over into England, hoping from thence, to make some attempt upon Scotland. As for James of Scotland, Lewis of France incited him to make war, having sent Robert Ireland, a Scotsman, and doctor of the Sorbonne, with two French knights, to him, on that errand. Thus the peace came to be violated: And although the Scottish affairs, in regard some of the country was wasted, were in none of the best condition; and a great army was decreed to be sent against Scotland by the English, under the command of the duke of Gloucester; yet the king, and those who were about him, did levy forces, but with no great heart: For the upstarts (such they lately were, and very poor too) whose greatness was founded on the calamities of others, and who had been the authors of desperate counsels to the king, feared nothing more than a numerous assembly of the incensed nobility. When they came to Lauder, a town near the borders of March and Teviotdale, countries either wasted

by the enemy, or else by force necessitated to submit to him; the king yet proceeded on in his wonted course of exactions from them: He distrusted the nobility, and managed all by his cabinet-council. This indignity the nobles would endure no longer; and therefore, in the third watch, they met in a church in the town, where, in a full assembly, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, is reported to have declared the cause of their meeting, in this manner.

‘ I think it not necessary, noble peers, to make a long oration concerning the state of the Scottish affairs, you yourselves partly remember it, and you partly see it now before your eyes; the chief of the nobility are either banished, or else compelled to suffer intolerably, and to act nefarious things; and you, in whom the strength of the kingdom rests, are left without an head, as a ship without a steersman, subject to all the storms and tempests of fortune: your lands are burnt, your estates plundered; the husbandmen either slain, or else, perceiving no other remedy, have submitted to the enemy. And the king, a man of a generous spirit, and singular prudence, if you take him as he is in himself, yet carried away by poisonous insinuations, refers all things pertaining to the good of the commonwealth, to peace, war, and the like, not to an assembly of the nobles, but to inferior upstarts. These men consult soothsayers and wizards, and carry their answers to the king, whose mind is infirm and sickly, and easily taken with such vain superstitions; and thus decrees are made under the influence of such authors, concerning the safety of us all; for they, knowing that they are deservedly hated by all, bear the like hatred to all; and their endeavour is, not only to undermine your authority, but to cut you all off, by all the possible arts and practices they can; they have removed some of you by death, others by banishment. Neither do they ascend gradually to play their pranks, as inferior persons, when they are promoted, are wont to do; but immediately exercise the trials of their cruelty and avarice upon the royal blood: One of the king’s brothers they have most inhumanly put to death; they have robbed our country of the other, by banishing him, and so have given him as a general to our enemies. These being thus taken out of the way, their next work is to deal with the nobility: For, being of low estate and condition themselves, they would have no man of excellence, none of high birth, to survive them. All those that have either riches to satisfy their avarice, or power to resist their audaciousness, them they account as their enemies; and yet, in the mean time, we are undertaking a war against the English, as our public enemy, as if any enemy were more deadly than that, who is never

‘ satisfied, in point of covetousness with your estates, nor in
‘ point of cruelty, with your blood. Now, to make it clear to
‘ you, that this intestine plague is more dreadful than that fo-
‘ reign one; suppose (which God forbid) that the king of Eng-
‘ land should conquer us, doubtless he would remember old
‘ grudges, and, in pursuance of that conquest, what end of his
‘ successes would he propound to himself? or what reward of
‘ his victory? Would he aim at the life of the king his enemy,
‘ or at our lives? I think, at neither. For the dispute between
‘ us is (not for life, but) for glory and empire, and a generous
‘ mind, as it is vehement and eager against those that resist it,
‘ so it is easily mitigated and inclined to lenity by submission and
‘ obsequiousness, even upon the account of remembering the
‘ instability of all human affairs. But suppose that the enemy’s
‘ rage should aim at the king’s life and destruction, I pray,
‘ which of the two do act more mercifully, either he that, toge-
‘ ther with life, takes away all sense of misery; or they that
‘ reserve him, whom they ought principally to love and reverence
‘ next to God, to a daily butchery and execution? Who arm
‘ his mind, already prepossessed with witchcrafts, to the destruc-
‘ tion of his friends? who keep the king, now almost encom-
‘ passed by the arms of his enemies, in the nature of a prisoner;
‘ and do not suffer him to see the faces of his friends, that he
‘ may understand their affection to him, and experience their
‘ loyalty? They are not so much enemies, who pitch camp a-
‘ gainst camp, and so openly profess their hostility, as they who
‘ at home do treacherously contrive our destruction. They alien-
‘ ate the king’s mind from his friends, and betray him to his
‘ enemies; and thus they deprive us of our commander, and
‘ expose us a prey to our enemy’s arms, by whom, if your
‘ lives are given you, after you are conquered, yet you will fall
‘ into shame and servitude; and, if you overcome them, yet you
‘ will not procure quiet to yourselves, strength to your country,
‘ nor glory to your king, but a greater liberty to your enemies to
‘ play their pranks at present, and that in security; for the fu-
‘ ture; and thus we shall bring a plague and misery on ourselves,
‘ and a stricter servitude on our king, so that victory will not
‘ free us from foreign miseries, but will increase our domestic
‘ ones. And therefore, in short, my opinion is, That we shake
‘ off the yoke at home, before we venture to engage the enemy;
‘ for otherwise, we shall all be made slaves to the lusts of a few
‘ men; we shall strengthen the enemy, and betray the common-
‘ wealth. God bless your consultations in this matter.’

After Douglas had ended his speech, there followed (not a
debate, but) a confused noise, over the whole assembly, cry-
ing out, *To your arms against the public enemy!* for the minds

of all present were so inflamed, that though they had none to lead them, yet they were about to break in upon the king's quarters. But the graver sort, who, by reason of their honour and authority, had a great interest in the rest, appeased the tumult; for they feared lest, in an impetuous assault of the people, the king himself should come to some harm: And therefore they agreed, that the principal commanders should take a small number of their chiefest confidants, and, without any general remove of the whole army, should go to the king's pavilion, and seize the offenders, who had the management of things, and then bring them forth to be judged before the whole army, that so they might suffer condign punishment, according to the laws.

Whilst these things were in agitation, news was brought to the court, that the nobles were assembled before day, in the church; for what was not known; but it must certainly be some great matter, which engaged such persons to assemble unknown to the king and his counsellors. The king was waked, and rose in great fear out of his bed, and asked those about him, *What was best to be done?* In the mean while, he sends Cochrane before, to observe what was a-doing, and to bring him certain word. Just as this Cochrane was got pretty nigh the church with a small retinue, he meets with the chief of the nobility coming to court. Douglas presently laid hands on him, and took him by a massy gold chain, which he wore about his neck, whereby he somewhat strained his throat, and gave him up a prisoner to the marshal, and then he went directly to the king's bed-chamber. They who were there, made no opposition, either because they were astonished at his sudden coming, or else out of reverence to the man; so that there the rest were seized upon, who were thought to have corrupted the king by their wicked counsels; only one young man hung about the king's neck, and he desired them to pardon him, his name was John Ramsay, of a good family; who being excused on the account of his age, was dismissed. Whilst the rest were led to their trials, there was a tumult and noise raised over the whole army, crying out, *Hang them, rogues!* whereupon they were presently hurried away, and ended their lives in an halter; nay, the army in general was so intent upon their execution, that when they wanted ropes, upon so sudden an occasion, they all offered the reins of their horse-bridles and their baggage-horse tackle for that use; and they strove much, who should have the honour to offer his own first.

This court faction had committed many injuries against private persons; but their wrongs to the public lay chiefly here: They had been the authors of coining new brass-money, which

the common people did call by the invidious name of *Black-money*. Upon this coinage, there first ensued a dearth on all things, and afterwards a famine; for the sellers had rather suffer their commodities to be spoiled at home, than, under a pretence of sale, to give them away to the buyers. But, that all commerce might not wholly cease amongst the people, this one remedy was found out for dealers and chapmen, that they should mention, in their contracts, in what sort of money the payment should be made. It is true, some of our former kings had coined that sort of money, but it was more for the necessary use of the poor, than for their own gain: And also provision was made by a law, appointing such a sum, beyond which sellers should not be compelled to take it in payment. Thus the buyers of small commodities had a benefit; and care was taken, that the richer sort should have no damage by this way of change or sale. It was also objected against them, that they had alienated the king's heart from the nobility, and had set him upon the study of magic, and hurried him on to the destruction of his own kindred. But that which made Cochrane most envied, was his earldom of March; which country the king had either given to him, or at least committed to his trust, upon the death of the king's younger brother.

When these evil counsellors were removed out of the way, the king having no great confidence in the soldiery, nor the soldiery in him, the army was dismissed, and returned home: And the king, though for the present he suppressed his anger, and made many large and fair promises to the nobility, yet his heart inwardly boiled with blood, slaughter and revenge. And therefore, as soon as he thought himself at liberty, he retired, with some few of his confidants, into the castle of Edinburgh, and the nobility, not knowing what to think of it, had also their consultations apart. The king of England, by the persuasion of Alexander chiefly, who informed him of the dissension betwixt the Scottish king and his nobles; and also assured him, that as soon as ever he entered Scotland, great numbers of horse and foot would come in to him; raised forces in the winter, over which he made Richard his brother, duke of Gloucester, general, and commanded him to march into Scotland. He began his march when it was about midsummer; and, understanding in what condition the Scottish affairs were, he turned aside to Berwick. He was received immediately into the town, and left 4000 men to besiege the castle; and with the rest of the army he marched directly to Edinburgh, making a dreadful devastation in all places where he came. But Alexander leading them on, they entered the city without committing any rapine; and, by a public proclamation made in the market-place, he advised James (seeing he could not speak with him) first, to perform what he

had promised to Edward; and then, that before the first of September he would cause satisfaction to be made for all the wrongs and injuries he had offered to the English; and, unless he would do so, Richard duke of Gloucester, would persecute him and his country with fire and sword. To all this, James, perceiving at present that he was not able to perform what was required; and, on the other side, that he was as unable to withstand the power of the enemy, returned no answer at all, either by writing or message. But the nobles of Scotland, being thus forsaken of their king, that they might not be wholly wanting to the public safety, levied another army, and formed a camp at Haddington: And, that they might somewhat alleviate the imminent danger and pressure, and stop the enemy in his career of victory, they sent agents to the duke of Gloucester, to desire, *That the marriage, so long proposed, might be consummated.* They were also to declare, that it should not be their fault if the agreements made between the two nations were not punctually performed. The English general, knowing that the Scots would not put things to the hazard of a battle, in regard part of their strength was with him upon the account of Alexander, a popular man, and that the rest, were divided into several factions, returned this answer, That he did not know what his king had resolved in reference to that marriage; but he thought it fit that the money paid to James upon the account of the dowry, should be presently repaid to him; and, if they would have peace, they should promise to surrender up the castle of Berwick; or, if they could not do that, then solemnly to swear, that they should not attempt to relieve the besieged, nor hinder the besiegers, until the castle was either taken by storm, or surrendered upon conditions. The Scots returned answer by their ambassadors, That it was not their fault the marriage was not consummated; but it happened, because both bride and bridegroom were under age; that the money was not yet due, because the day of payment was not yet come, and if there were not sufficient security given for the payment thereof, they would give more; but the castle of Berwick was built by the Scots, and that in the Scottish soil, and for many ages having been under their jurisdiction, they could not part with it; and though the English had taken it, and possessed it sometimes by force, yet their injury did not prejudice the ancient right of the Scots. But Gloucester, who was superior in strength, resolved to carry the point, and to admit of no legal dispute in the case. The same day, Calen Campbell earl of Argyle, Andrew Stuart the chancellor, and the bishops of St. Andrews and Dunblane, sent to Alexander, who was in the English camp at Lethington, a chart, signed with their own hands and seals, promising him, if

he would be loyal to the king, in the next assembly, they would take care that his estate should be restored, and an amnesty given for what was past; in assurance of which they solemnly interposed their faith. Alexander acquainted Gloucester with the thing, who was very friendly, and dismissed him upon it; and so he returned into his own country, where, in the next assembly of estates, he was made regent by an unanimous consent; and presently a proposition was made concerning raising the siege of Berwick. The wiser sort were of opinion, that in so dangerous a time, when things were thus unsettled by reason of domestic seditions, it was best to clap up a peace upon any terms; for they saw plainly, that if they should have the better of so powerful an enemy, yet it would rather provoke than dishearten him; but if they themselves were overcome, it was uncertain how an enemy, fierce by nature, and farther elevated by success, would use his victory. Some that were more hot-spirited than they had reason to be, opposed this opinion; yet it was carried in the parliament. After many conditions had been canvassed to and fro, at length it was agreed, that on the 26th of August 1482, the castle of Berwick should be surrendered up to the English, and a truce made for a few months, till they could have more time to treat of a peace. Thus Berwick was lost, after it had been enjoyed by the Scots 21 years, since they last recovered it. Then the duke of Gloucester, having made a prosperous expedition, returned in triumph home.

Edward by the advice of his council, judged it more for the advantage of England, to disannul the marriage contract; for he feared that the intestine discords of the Scots were so great, that James's issue might be in danger of losing the crown; and he was most respectful to Alexander, because, if he should be made king, he hoped to have a constant and faithful ally of him, in regard of the great kindness he had received at his hands. Hereupon an herald was sent to Edinburgh, to renounce the affinity, and to demand the repayment of the dowry. When he had declared his errand publicly on the 25th of October, the Scots obtained a day for the payment thereof, and restored it to a penny; and withal, they sent some to convoy the herald as far as Berwick. Alexander, that he might extinguish the remains of the old hatred of his brother against him, and so obtain new favour by a new courtesy, brought him out of the castle, and restored him to the free possession of his kingdom. But the memory of old offences prevailed more with James's proud restless spirit, than this late courtesy. Moreover, besides the king's old jealousies, there were those, that did daily calumniate Alexander, and buz into the king's ear his too great popularity; as if now it was very evident, that he affected the kingdom. He being advised by his friends, that mischief

was hatching against him at court, fled privately into England; and gave up the castle of Dunbar to Edward. In his absence he was condemned. The crimes objected against him were, first, That he had often sent messengers into England; and then, that he had retired thither himself, without obtaining a passport from the king; and that there he joined in council against his country, and his king's life. All his partizans were pardoned, and amongst the rest William Crichton, who was accused not only to be an abettor of his designs against his country, but also the chief author that urged him on to them. But when he had obtained pardon for what was past, he was again accused of encouraging Alexander by his advice and counsel, after he was condemned; (frequent letters passing between them, by the means of Thomas Dickson a priest) and of causing his castle of Crichton to be fortified against the king, and commanding the garrison soldiers not to surrender it up to the king's forces. Wherefore he was summoned to answer the 14th day of February, in the year 1484. But he, not appearing, was outlawed, and his goods confiscated. These were the causes of his punishment, mentioned in our public records. But it is thought that the hatred the king had conceived against him, upon a private occasion, did him the most mischief of all. It was this: William had a very beautiful wife, of the noble family of the Dunbars; when her husband found that the king had had the use of her body, he projected a revenge, which was rash enough in itself, but yet not improper for a mind sick of love, and also provoked by such an injury as his was; for he himself lay with the king's youngest sister, a beautiful woman, but ill spoken of for her too great familiarity with her brother; and on her he begat Margaret Crichton, who died not long since. In the interim, Crichton's wife died at his own house; and the king's sister, who, as I said, the king had vitiated, was so much in love with William, that she seemed sometimes to be out of her wits for him. The king, partly by the mediation of William's friends, and partly being mindful of the wrong he himself had done him of the like sort, and being willing also to cover the infamy of his sister under a veil of marriage, permitted William to return home again to court, upon condition that he would marry her. William was persuaded by his friends; and, for want of better views, especially since Richard of England was dead, came to Inverness, where he had a conference with the king, not long before their deaths; and great hopes were there given of his return. His sepulchre is yet there to be seen. These things were done at several times, but I have put them together, that so the thread of my history might not be discontinued and broken off. Let us now return to what was omitted before.

Edward of England died in the month of April, next after

Dunbar was delivered to him, in the year 1483, leaving his brother Richard guardian to his sons. He was first content with the name of protector, and under that title governed England for two months: But afterwards having, by several practices, engaged a part of the nobility and commonalty to his side, he put his brother's two sons in prison; the queen and her two daughters being forced to retire into a sanctuary near London. The next June he took upon him the name and ornaments of a king.

Alexander of Albany, and James Douglas, being willing to try how their countrymen stood affected towards them, came with 500 select horse to Lochmaben on Maudlin's day, because a great fair used that day to be there held. There a skirmish began between the parties with enraged minds on both sides, and the success was various, as aid came in out of the neighbouring district, either to this or that party. They fought from noon till night, and the issue was doubtful; but at last the victory inclined to the Scots, though it was a bloody one, as having lost many of their men. Douglas was there taken prisoner, and sent away to the monastery of Lindors; Alexander was set on a horse, and escaped, but staid not in England long after that. In the mean time, many incursions were made, to the greater loss of the English, than benefit of the Scots. Richard was uncertain of the event of things at home, and withal feared his enemy abroad; for many of the English favoured the earl of Richmond, who was an exile in France, and had sent for him over to undertake the government of the kingdom; so that Richard was mightily troubled. Neither was he less vexed with the guilt of his own wickedness; and because he could not quell domestic sedition, as soon as he hoped, therefore he thought it best to oblige foreigners by any conditions whatsoever; that so, by their authority and power, he might be safer at home, and more formidable abroad. For this cause he sent ambassadors into Scotland, to make peace, or at least a truce for some years. There he found all things more easy than he could have hoped for: For James, who, for his many and notable crimes was grievously hated by his own people, as well as Richard was by his, willingly gave ear to his ambassadors; for he hoped that, if once he had peace with England, he could revenge his wrongs at home at leisure, when England could not be a refuge for his opposers. For these reasons especially, both kings sent some of their confidants to the borders; where after many and long disputes concerning compensation for losses, seeing peace could not be made, by reason of the multitudes of complainants, and the weakness of their proofs, they made a truce for three years.

And because matters could not then be adjusted, for the difficulties above-mentioned, and also the straitness of time; arbiters were appointed on both sides, who, together with the commanders

of the borders, should see all things done according to equity. One condition in the truce was set down very intricately, about the castle of Dunbar to be restored to the Scots; for the English interpreted it, that they might keep it; and the Scots, that they might reduce it by force, notwithstanding the truce: For when the Scots, after the expiration of six months allotted, sent ambassadors to demand the castle, Richard by his letters made them promises of his good-will, but he delayed the restoration of it (alleging sometimes this, and sometimes other things, as an obstacle in the way) till his death, which followed not long after. He was slain by his countrymen; and Henry VII. not yet fully in his throne, when James laid seige to the castle in a very sharp winter; the garrison soldiers, seeing that they were not like to have relief from England, in regard of the present distractions, surrendered it up. But Henry, being troubled with many cares, that he might cut off the occasion of foreign wars, and extirpate the seeds of old hatred, came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne; from thence he sent ambassadors to Scotland, either to make a perpetual league, or, at least, a long truce with them; for he, being a man of great prudence, and having experienced many vicissitudes of things in his life, judged it highly conducing to the establishment of his kingdom, to make peace with his neighbours, and especially with the Scots; because commonly those two kingdoms lay upon the catch for advantages against each other, and protected rebellious fugitives, and entertained those who were exiled, and maintained sedition, by giving the authors of it hope of refuge and supply. And as for James, he desired nothing more, than to be free from the fear of foreigners, that so he might punish his own disobedient subjects as he pleased. And therefore he kindly received the ambassadors, and told them, that he desired nothing more than a peace: but his opinion was, that his subjects would not yield, that either there should be a perpetual peace, or any long truce betwixt them; partly because it was forbid by an ancient law, lest, when all fear of an enemy was removed, their minds might languish into idleness, and the sinews of their industry be remitted; and partly, because they could not so suddenly lay down their fierceness of spirit, which they acquired by so long use of arms: But if they could be brought to this, to yield to a truce for six or seven years, he would not have them refuse it: But as for himself, he was willing to maintain a firm and inviolate peace with them, as long as he lived; and he would also take care, that the truce should be renewed, before the date of it was quite expired; but he earnestly desired the ambassadors, not to divulge abroad the discourse which they had in secret with him, lest his nobility should be more backward from coming into a peace, if they saw him forward in the case. When this was told Henry

who knew in what a tumultuous state the affairs of Scotland were, and how convenient it was for the king to have a peace; imagining likewise that he spoke really, and from his heart, he accepted of the truce for seven years, and so retired back to York. In the mean time the queen of Scots died, a woman of singular beauty and probity; by her good graces she was sometimes thought to have moderated the unbridled appetites and efforts of her husband. Alexander also, the king's brother, died in France, leaving two sons behind him, Alexander, by his first wife, the daughter of the earl of the Orcades, and John by his second, who was afterwards the regent-king of Scotland for some years.

James, having thus settled peace abroad, and at home being freed from two troublesome interrupters of his designs, returned to his own disorderly nature. He excluded almost all the nobility, and had none but upstarts about him: Upon them he bestowed great honours and preferments; the care of all public affairs, and the ways and means of raising money were wholly and solely left to them, whilst he himself lay, as it were, drowned in voluptuousness. The chief of this court-faction was John Ramsay, who was preserved at Lauder by the king's request, and then escaped punishment. He was grown so insolently proud, that, not content with the stewardship of the houschold (a place of prime honour amongst the Scots) which the king had given him, and many rich lordships besides; he obtained an edict, That *none but he and his retinue, wear a sword, or other weapon, in those places where the king lodged*; that so, by this means they might strengthen themselves and their retinue, against the nobility, who kept their distinct and frequent meetings by themselves; and walked up and down in their arms. But that edict made the people hate Ramsay more than fear him; for now they had nothing but the image of perfect slavery before their eyes. In the mean time the king meditated nothing more, than how to satiate himself with the blood of those men, who were believed to be the authors of rebellion against him. And seeing he could not do it by any open force, he thought to effect it by subtlety; and therefore he feigned himself to be reconciled to this, and to the other man; and treated them with more familiarity than became the dignity of a prince. To others who were eminent in power, he gave honours and largesses. He made David Lindsay earl of Crawford, duke of Montrose; endeavouring to win him by that means, being so powerful a man in his country. As for George earl of Angus, he had him frequently about him; and, as if he had been wholly received into his favour, he acquainted him with his private designs; yet none of his rewards and flatteries could persuade men that he was sincere. For they that knew his disposition, did not at all doubt, that his simulation of benevolence and re-

spect tended to no other end, but that he might either arrest the nobility one by one, or else might set them together by the ears, one with another; which his assembling the chief of the nobility at Edinburgh made more plainly appear; for he called Douglas to him into the castle, and told him, that he had now an eminent opportunity to revenge himself; for, if the leaders of the faction were apprehended and put to death, the rest would be quiet; but, if he omitted this opportunity, which was so fairly put into his hands, he could never expect the like again.

Douglas, who knew that the king's mind was no more reconciled to himself than to others, did craftily reason with him, concerning so cruel and so ruinous a design; alleging, that men would judge it to be a base and flagitious act, if he should hurry so many noble persons to death, without any hearing or trial, to whom he had pardoned their former misdemeanors; and now they also rested secure, in that they had the public faith given them for their safety. For the fierce minds of his enemies would not be broken by the death of a few; but rather, if his faith should be once violated, all hope of concord would be cut off; and, if once men despaired of pardon, their anger would be turned into rage; and from thence a greater obstinacy, and contempt both of the king's authority, and of their lives too, would infallibly ensue. But if you will hearken to my counsel (said he) I will shew you a way whereby you may save the dignity of a king, and yet revenge yourself too: for I will gather my friends and clans together, and so openly, and in the day time, I will lay hold upon them, and you may try them where you will, and inflict what punishment you please upon them. This way will be more creditable, and also much more safe, than if you should set upon them secretly and by night; for then it would look as if they were murdered by thieves. The king thought the earl had been sincere in what he spake, (for he knew he was able to perform what he had promised) and therefore he gave him many thanks, and more promises of great rewards, and so dismissed him. But he presently acquainted the nobility with their imminent danger, advised them to withdraw themselves, as he himself also did. The king perceiving that his secret projects were discovered, from that day forward would trust nobody; but after he had staid a while in the castle of Edinburgh, he sailed over into the countries beyond the Forth; for they as yet remained firm in their obedience to him, and there levied a considerable force. And the nobles, who before had sought his amendment, not his destruction, now, seeing all hopes of any agreement were cut off, managed all their counsels for his utter overthrow and ruin; only there was one thing which troubled them, and that was, who should be their general, that, after the king was subdued, might

be regent, or vice-king, who might be acceptable to the people; and, on the account of the honour of his family, would load the faction with as little envy as might be. After many consultations about this, at last they pitched upon the king's son. He was enticed to a compliance by the supervisors and tutors of his childhood; and he did it out of this fear, that, if he refused, the government and command would be made over to the English, the perpetual enemies of their family.

The king by this time had passed over the Forth, and pitched his tent by the castle of Blackness; and his son's army was not far off, ready for the encounter; when, lo! the matter was composed by the intervention of the earl of Athol, the king's uncle; and Athol himself was given up, as an hostage for the peace, to Adam Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, with whom he remained till the king's death: but suspicions increased on both sides, the concord lasted not long; however, messengers passed between them, and at last the nobility gave this answer, 'That since the king acted nothing sincerely, a certain war was better than a treacherous peace; there was but one medium left, upon which they could agree, and that was, that the king should resign the government, and his son be set up in his place; and if he would not consent to that, it was in vain for him to give himself the trouble of any more messages or disputes.' The king communicated this answer to his ambassadors, which he sent to the French and to the English, making it his request to them, that they would assist him against the fury of a few of his rebellious subjects, by their authority, and, if need were, by some auxiliary forces, that so they might be reduced to their obedience; for they ought to look upon it as a common concern; and that the contagion, by this example, would quickly creep to the neighbour nations. There were also ambassadors sent to Eugenius VIII. pope of Rome, to desire him, that out of his fatherly affection to the Scottish name, he would send a legate into Scotland, with full power, by ecclesiastical censures, to compel rebellious subjects to lay down arms, and obey their king. The pope writ to Adrian of Castell, then his legate in England, a man of great learning and prudence, to do his endeavour for composing the Scottish affairs. But these remedies came too late: for the nobles, who were not ignorant what the king was a-doing, and knew that he was implacable toward them, resolved to put it to a battle, before any more forces came to him. And though they had the king's son with them, both to countenance their matters with the greater grace amongst the vulgar, and also to shew that they were no enemies to their country, but only to their misled king, yet, lest the hearts of the people might be weakened by the approach of foreign ambassadors, they were solicitous, night and day, how to

decide it by a battle. But the king's fearfulness was an hindrance to their hasty design; who, having levied a great strength in the northern parts of the kingdom, resolved to keep himself within the castle of Edinburgh, till those aids came to him. However, he was taken off from that resolution, though it seemed the safest for him, by the fraud, or, at least, the simplicity of some about him; for, in regard to the frequent washes and friths, which gave delay to those who were coming in to him, they persuaded him to go to Stirling, the only place in the kingdom fit to receive aids coming from all parts thereof: and there he might be as safe as he was in the castle of Edinburgh, seeing his enemies were unprovided of all materials requisite for the storming of castles; and there also he might have his fleet, which he had fitted out against all hazards, to ride in some convenient harbour near adjoining. This counsel seemed faithful, and was safe enough, if James Shaw, governor of the castle, being corrupted by the contrary faction, had not refused him entrance; so that the enemy was almost at his heels; and, before he knew where to betake himself, he was forced, with that strength which he had, to run the hazard of a fight. At the beginning they fought stoutly; and the first ranks of the nobility's army began to give ground; but the men of Annandale, and the neighbouring parts, inhabiting the west of Scotland, came boldly up, and having longer spears than the adverse party, they presently routed the king's main forces. He himself was weakened by the fall off his horse, and fled to some water-mills near the place where the battle was fought. His intent was (as is supposed) to get to his ships, which lay not far off: Here, with a few of his men, he was taken and slain. There were three that pursued him very close in his flight, *i. e.* Patrick Gray the head of his family, Sterline Ker, and a priest named Borthwick: It is not well known, which of them gave his death's wound. When the news of his death, tho' not as yet fully certain, was divulged through both armies, it occasioned the conquerors to press less violently upon those who fled away; so that there were the fewer of them slain: For the nobles managed the war against the king, not against their fellow subjects. There was slain of the king's party, Alexander Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, with some few of his vassals and kindred; but there were many wounded on both sides.

Thus James III. came to his end, a man not so much of a bad-disposition by nature, as corrupted by ill habits, into which he was brought up by vicious acquaintance. For having at first given a specimen of great and notable ingenuity, and of a mind truly royal, he degenerated by degrees, the Boyds being the first occasion of it, into all manner of licentiousness. When the Boyds were removed, then persons of the lowest sort were his advisers to all

kind of wickedness; and besides, the corruption of the times, and the ill examples of his neighbour kings, contributed not a little to his overthrow and ruin: For Edward IV. in England, Charles in Burgundy, Lewis XI. in France, John II. in Portugal, had all of them laid the foundations of tyranny in their respective kingdoms. And Richard III. exercised it to the highest degree of cruelty in England. His death was also branded with this ignominy, that, in the next assembly, the whole parliament voted, that he was justly slain; and provision was made for all that bore arms against him, that neither they nor their posterity should be prejudiced by it. He died in the year of our Lord 1488, and in the twenty-eight year of his reign, and the thirty-fifth of his age.



(A. C. 1488.)

T H E
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B O O K XIII.

JAMES III. being thus slain, near Stirling, in the month of June, they who were his opposers, being as yet uncertain what was become of him, retreated to Linlithgow. There word was brought them, that some boats had passed to and fro, from the ships to the land, and that they had carried off the wounded men. Upon this a suspicion arose amongst them, that the king himself also was gone a ship-board; which occasioned them to remove their camp to Leith. From thence the prince (for that is the title of the king of Scots' eldest son) sent some agents, to require the admiral of the fleet to come ashore to him. His name was Andrew Wood; he was a knight; and, being mindful of the king's kindness towards him, remained constant in his affection to him, even after he was dead; he refused to come ashore, unless hostages were given for his safe return. Seton and Fleming, two noblemen, were the hostages. When he landed, the king's council asked him, if he knew where the king was? and who were they that he carried off to his ships after the flight? As for the king, he told them he knew nothing of him, but that he and his brothers had landed out of their boats, that so they might assist the king and all his good subjects, but having endeavoured in vain to preserve him, they then returned to the fleet. He added, if the king were alive, they resolved to obey none but him; but if he were slain, they were ready to revenge his death. He uttered also many reproachful speeches against the rebels; yet nevertheless they sent him away in safety to his ships, that so his hostages

might not suffer. When the hostages were returned, the inhabitants of Leith were called up to the council, and pressed by promises of great reward, to rig out their ships, and subdue Andrew Wood. They all in general made answer, That he had two ships so fitted with all things for a fight, and so well furnished with able and valiant seamen; and withal, that he himself was so skilful in naval affairs, that no ten ships in Scotland were able to cope with his two; so that the consultation was put off, and they went to Edinburgh. There they were fully informed of the king's death, and appointed a magnificent funeral to be made for him at Cambus-Kenneth, a monastery near Stirling, on the 25th day of the month of June.

JAMES IV. *the hundred and fifth king.*

IN the interim, an assembly was summoned to meet on a certain day in order to create a new king. There were few who came together to perform this service, and those were mostly of the party that had conspired against the former king. The new king, just after his accession, sent an herald to the governor of Edinburgh castle, commanding him to surrender it, which he accordingly did; and then he marched to Stirling, and that castle was also delivered up to him by the garrison. When it was noised all over England how great the troubles in Scotland were, five ships were chosen out of that king's fleet, who entered into the frith of Forth, and there plundered the merchant-men, obstructing their commerce, and made many descents on both shores, extremely infesting the maritime parts; for they expected great disturbances on land, by the Scots going into parties one against another. For, seeing the adverse party were rather shattered than broken in the late fight, in regard they were not all there; and of those that were, there were not many slain, they thought a fiercer tempest would have arisen from minds, which yet continued to be inflamed with hatred and envy, and which were elevated by confidence in their own strength. And it increased the indignation, that now the power over so many noble and eminent persons was so easily fallen, not into the king's, but a few particular men's hands. For though the king might retain the name and title of a king, yet being but a youth of fifteen years old, he did not govern, but was himself governed by those that killed his father. For the whole management of matters centered in the hands of Douglas, Hepburn, and Hume, and their confidence was the more increased, because all the shores were infested with the two fleets, the Scotch and the English. To obviate these difficulties, first of all the new king endeavoured to recon-

cile the naval forces to himself, lest, when he was absent in the farthest parts of the kingdom, to settle matters there, they should raise new commotions, to pave a way for the English to penetrate far into his dominions, and to spoil the midland countries. When the old king's death came to be publicly divulged abroad, the new one thought that Andrew Wood would grow more flexible, and therefore he sent for him, giving him the public faith for his security. When he was ashore, he told him what a great dishonour, loss, and public shame it was to the whole nation, that a few English ships should, in spite of them, ride under their very noses; and by that means he drew over Andrew to his party, and sent him forth in good equipage against the English. Many advised him that he would equip an equal number of ships at least, against the enemy, whose vessels were more, and larger than his. *No*, says he, *I'll have only my own two*. And, as soon as the wind served, he made directly toward the English, who rode before Dunbar. He fought them bravely, took, and brought them all into Leith, and presented their commanders to the king. Andrew was liberally rewarded by the king; and his skill in engagements at sea, with the singular valour of his soldiers and seamen, was highly magnified. And yet there were not wanting some of those sort of creatures, who always admire the achievements of kings, whatsoever they be; and if they be great, yet they view them in a multiplying glass; who foretold, that this victory did but precede a greater. Mean while the adverse part of the nobility sent messages into all parts of the kingdom, to persuade the country to rise, and not to endure the present state of things. nor to suffer so many valiant men to be illuded by such public parricides, who had murdered one king, and made a captive of another; nay, who accused the defenders of the king's life as traitors; whereas they, who were indeed violaters of all divine and human laws, gave out themselves to be the only assertors of the rights of their country, and the sole maintainers of its liberty: amongst whom the king himself was not a freeman, in regard he was forced by them to take arms against his father and king; and, after the monarch fell a sacrifice to impiety, he was compelled to prosecute, by a nefarious war, those who were the friends of his father, and the defenders of his life. Many such discourses they spread abroad amongst the vulgar. And to excite a greater flame of indignation and hatred, Alexander Forbes, chief of a noble family, carried the king's shirt upon a spear (all over bloody and torn, with the marks of the wounds he received) through Aberdeen, and all the chief towns of the adjacent country; and excited all men by this declaration, and by the voice of an herald, to rise in arms to revenge so black a deed. And Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox, a man of great wealth and power, and who, by an honest kind of popularity,

was equally dear to high and low; was as active in the countries on this side the Forth; for he raised up the earls that were his neighbours, and with a good force endeavouring to pass over the bridge at Stirling, to join his associates; but that bridge being possessed by the king's forces, he tried to pass a ford, not far from the rise of the river, at the foot of mount Grampius. His design was discovered to John Drummond by Alexander Macalpin, his vassal, who had joined himself to the enemy; by whom also information was given, that things were insecure and ill guarded in the enemy's camp; that every one straggled up and down as they pleased; that they had no watch set in convenient places, nor used any military discipline at all. Upon these advices Drummond, with some volunteers, who came in to assist him, set upon them when they were asleep. Many were killed in their sleep, the rest run headlong away without their arms, and so returned from whence they came. Many were taken prisoners, but a great part of them dismissed by their friends that knew them. These only were severely dealt with, who had either written or spoke more contumeliously than others.

The joy for this victory was increased by the news of another at the same time, which Andrew Wood had got over Stephen Bull, in an engagement at sea. For Henry king of England, hearing that five of his ships were taken by two of the Scots, and those much less than his, was willing to blot out the infamy of this defeat, and yet could find no just pretence for a war; however he called his ablest sea-commanders together; he offered them what ships and warlike provisions they pleased, exhorting them to purge away this stain cast upon the English name; promising them great rewards, if they could bring Wood to him, dead or alive. But when those that knew the valour of the man, and his prosperous successes made some delay in the case, Stephen Bull, a knight of known courage, undertook the expedition. And opportunity seemed to favour his design, because he knew that Wood was shortly to return out of Flanders; and he thought it would be a matter of no great difficulty to attack him at unawares in his passage. For this end, he pitched upon three ships out of the royal navy, and equipped them well in all points, and so stood for the isle of May, an island uninhabited, in the frith of Forth; chusing that place for the conveniency of it, because on every side of the island there is safe riding and harbour for ships against bad weather; and there the sea also grows so narrow, that no little vessel could pass by, without being discovered. Whilst he rode there, he continually kept some of his skilfullest mariners abroad in fisher-boats, to watch, and to discover to him his enemy's ships. He had not rode at anchor there many days, when Wood's ships appeared with full sail making towards him. Bull

knew them, and presently weighed anchor; and, as victor already in his mind, he prepared himself for the fight. Wood staid no longer but till his men had armed themselves, and so made up to him. Thus did these two valiant commanders engage, as if they had had the courage of mighty armies, and they fought obstinately till night parted the fray, the victory inclining to neither side. The next morning each of them encouraged their party, and renewed the attack with redoubled fury. They threw grappling irons into one another's ships, and so fought hand to hand, as if they had been at a land fight, and that with so much eagerness, that neither of them took notice to the falling back of the tide, till they came to the heaps of sand at the mouth of the river Tay. There the water being shallower, the great ships of the English could not be so easily managed, but were forced to surrender; and so they were towed up the stream of the Tay to Dundee, where they staid till the dead were buried, and the wounded were placed under the hands of surgeons for their cure. The battle was fought the 10th day of August, 1490.

A few days after, Wood went to the king, and carried with him Stephen Bull, with the other commanders of the ships, and the most noted of his soldiers, whom he presented to him. Wood was highly commended by the king for this exploit, and was honourably rewarded. The king freely dismissed the prisoners and their ships, and sent them back to their king, with an high commendation of their valour. For, in regard they fought for honour, not for booty, he therefore would shew, that valour ought to be honoured, even in an enemy.

King Henry, though he was highly concerned *for the loss of his men* in this unhappy fight, yet gave the king of Scots thanks, and told him, that he gratefully accepted his kindness, and could not but applaud the greatness of his mind.

About this time a new kind of monster was born in Scotland; in the lower part of its body it resembled a male child, nothing differing from the ordinary shape of a human body; but, above the navel, the trunk of the body and all the other members were double, representing both sexes, male and female. The king gave special order for its careful education, especially in music, in which it arrived to an admirable degree of skill. And moreover it learned several tongues; and sometimes the two bodies did discover several appetites, disagreeing one with another; and so they would quarrel, one liking *this*, the other *that*: and yet sometimes again, they would agree and consult (as it were) in common, for the good of both. This was also memorable in it, that, when the legs or loins were hurt *below*, both bodies were sensible of this pain in common; but, when it was pricked or otherwise hurt *above*, the sense of the pain did affect one body only; which difference was

also more perspicuous in its death; for one of the bodies died many days before the other; and that which survived, being half putrified, pined away by degrees. This monster lived twenty-eight years, and then died, when John was regent of Scotland. I am the more confident in relating this story, because there are many honest and credible persons yet alive, who saw this prodigy with their eyes.

When the people of the north of Scotland heard of this naval victory, they gave over all thoughts of war, and returned each to his own home. The tumult and broil being so easily quieted, the king applied his mind, not only to quell all seditions for the present, but also to prevent all the occasions of them for the future. He summoned his first parliament to be held at Edinburgh the 6th day of November. There many wholesome laws were made for the establishing of public concord; and, to the end that people's minds might the better agree in general, the fault was cast but upon a few particular persons; and the punishments were either very easy, or else wholly remitted. When a dispute arose concerning the lawfulness of the war, John Lyon, lord Glamis, rose up, and shewed several heads of articles, which the nobles had formerly sent to the king, in order to a pacification, to which James III. had often both assented and subscribed; and that indeed he had struck up a peace with his nobles upon those terms, unless some evil counsellors had drawn him away from it, and so persuaded him to call in the old enemy to fight against his own subjects. And, by reason of this his inconstancy, the earls of Huntly, Arrol, earl of Marshall, and Lyon himself, with many other noble persons, had forsaken him at that time, and had set up James IV. his son, as being a lover of the public peace and welfare. After a long consult, at last they all consented to a decree, wherein those that were slain in the battle of Stirling, were affirmed to have been cut off by their own fault, and that their slaughter was just; and that they who had taken up arms against the enemies of the public (for so they covered their hidden fraud under honest pretences) were guilty of no crime, nor consequently liable to any punishment. All who had votes in the assembly, subscribed to this decree, that so they might give a better account of the fact to foreign ambassadors, of whose coming they had information. Many other statutes were then also made, to restore to the poor what had been taken violently from them; to inflict small fines on the rich; and to indemnify both parties, that their taking up of arms at that time, might never turn to the prejudice of them or their posterity. This moderation of spirit was highly commended in a young king, of but fifteen years old, and who was also a conqueror, and had the command of all; but it was further heightened by his benignity and faithfulness in

performing his promises. To this we may add a thing (which commonly takes most with the vulgar) that he was of a graceful well-set body, and also of a lively and quick apprehension. So that, by his using his victory neither with avarice nor cruelty, and by his real pardoning of offenders, in a short time there grew up a great concord amongst both factions, both of them equally striving to shew their love and duty to the king; a few only, who were most obstinate, were punished with a small fine, or with the loss of part of their estates, but none at all were deprived of their whole patrimony; neither were the fines brought into the king's exchequer, but applied to defray the charges of the war. This his royal clemency was the more grateful, because men did yet retain fresh in their memories, upon what slight occasions in the former king's reign, many eminent men were outed of all; and how much inferior to them those were, who came in their places. Moreover, to engage the chief leaders of the contrary faction to a greater fidelity, he joined them in bonds of affinity to himself; for whereas his aunt had two daughters, by two several husbands, he married Græcina Boyd to Alexander Forbes, and Margaret Hamilton to Matthew Stewart. Thus, in a short time, the minds of all men were reconciled, and a happy peace and tranquillity did ensue. Nay, as if fortune had submitted herself to be an hand-maid to the king's virtues, there was so great an increase of grain and fruits of the earth, as if a golden spring had suddenly started up, out of a more than iron age. Thus, after the king had suppressed robberies by arms, and other vices by the severity of the laws, lest he might seem a sharp avenger of others, but indulgent to himself, and withal, to make it appear, that his father was slain against his will, he wore an iron chain about his waist as long as he lived, and every year he added one link more to it. And though this practice might give an umbrage to those that were the instruments of his father's death; yet they had such confidence, either in the gentleness of the king's disposition, or in their own power, that it occasioned no insurrection at all.

Amidst this public jubilee, and private rejoicings of particular persons, about the seventh year of the king's reign, Perkin Warbeck came into Scotland. But before I declare the cause of his coming, I must fetch things farther back.

Margaret, the sister of Edward IV. king of England, having married Charles, duke of Burgundy, endeavoured all the ways she could, if not to overthrow, yet at least to vex Henry VII. the leader of the contrary faction. In order to this, she raised up Perkin Warbeck, as a competitor for the kingdom. He was a youth born of mean parentage at Tournay, a city of the Nervii; but of such beauty, ingenuity, stature of body, and manliness of

countenance, that he might easily be believed to have been descended of royal stock. And, by reason of his poverty, he had travelled up and down in several countries (so that he was known but by few of his own relations) and there he had learned several languages, and had inured both his face and his mind to the most consummate confidence. When Margaret (who was intent on all occasions to disturb the peace of England) had got this youth, she kept him a while privately by her, till she had informed him with what factions England laboured at that time; what friends, and what enemies she had there. In a word, she made him acquainted with the whole genealogy of the royal progeny, and what happiness or misfortunes had attended each of them. When things seemed thus to be somewhat ripe, she was resolved to try fortune, and gave private orders that he should be sent, with a decent equipage, first into Portugal, then into Ireland. There a great concourse of people flocked about him, and he was received with great applause, as the son of king Edward of England; either because his own disposition, assisted by art, was inclined to personate such an one; or because being there amongst the credulous Kerns, he was soon likely to raise great commotions. When a war suddenly broke out betwixt the French and the English, he was called for, out of Ireland, by Charles VIII. and had great promises made him: so that, coming to Paris, he was there honourably received in the garb and equipage of a prince, and had a guard appointed him. Nay, the English exiles and fugitives, who were numerous at that court, put him in sure hope of the kingdom. But that quarrel between the crowns being made up, he departed privately out of the court of France, for fear he should have been delivered up, and so retired to Flanders, where he was highly caressed by Margaret, as if it was the first time that ever she had seen him, and was diligently shewed to all the courtiers; and several times, when there were enough to make a large audience, he was desired to relate the story of all his adventures. Margaret, as if this was the first time she ever heard it, so accommodated her well dissembled affections, in compliance with each part of his discourse, both when he related his successes, and also his misfortunes, that every body thought she believed what he had spoken to be certainly true.

After a day or two, Perkin was equipped to go abroad in the habit of a prince, and had thirty men to be his guard, wearing a white rose, (which is the badge of the York faction amongst the English) and so was every where declared as the undoubted heir of the crown of England. When these things were divulged, first in Flanders, afterwards in England, the minds of men were so stirred up, that a great concourse of people flocked in to him; not only those who lurked in holes and sanctuaries for fear of the

laws, but even of some noblemen, whom their present state did not please, or who desired innovations. But, when a longer delay, which Perkin hoped would bring in more forces to him, was likely to lessen those about him, the cheat beginning to take the air, he determined to try his fortune in a fight: so that having gotten a pretty great party together, he landed some few of them in Kent, to try the affections of the Kentish men; but in vain. All those who landed were taken; so that he was forced to steer his course for Ireland; and there also he met not with the entertainment he hoped for; so that he sailed over into Scotland, well knowing that peace between England and Scotland never used to continue very long. He being admitted into the king's presence, made a lamentable complaint of the ruin of the York family, and what miserable calamities he himself had suffered; and therefore he earnestly besought him to vindicate royal blood from such contumely and shame. The king bid him be of good heart, and promised he should shortly find, that he had not desired help, in his distresses, in vain. A few days after a council was called, where Perkin made a sad story of his misfortunes, that he, being born of a king, the most flourishing of his time, and that of the highest hopes too, was left destitute by the untimely death of his father, and so was like to have fallen into the tyrannical hands of his uncle Richard, before he was sensible, almost, what misery was; that his elder brother was cruelly murdered by him; but that he himself was stolen away by his father's friends; so that now he durst not live, no, not a poor and precarious life, even in that kingdom of which he was the lawful heir; that he had lived so miserably amongst foreign nations, that he preferred the situation of his deceased brother before his own, in regard he was snatched away from all other calamity, by a sudden and violent death; that he himself was reserved as the ridicule of fortune; and that his sorrow had not that alleviation, that he durst bewail his miserable state amongst strangers, to incline them to pity him; for, after he had begun openly to profess what he was, fortune had assaulted him with all her darts; and, to his former miseries, had added a daily fear of treachery; for his crafty enemy had sometimes tampered with those who entertained him, to take away his life; and sometimes he had privily suborned his subjects, under the name of friends, to discover his secret designs, corrupt his true friends, and to find out his secret ones, and to calumniate his stock and pedigree, by false accusations amongst the vulgar; to reproach his aunt Margaret, and those English nobles that owned him; and yet notwithstanding, that she, being supported by a good conscience against the revilings of enemies, and also out of compassion to her own blood, had supported him in low estate with her assistance. But at last, when he perceived that he could not have aid enough

from her to recover his kingdom, (being a widow, and old too) he had solicited neighbouring kings and nations, desiring them to respect the common chances of man's life, and not to suffer royal blood to be oppressed by tyrannical violence, and to pine away with grief, fear, and misery; and that he, though for the present afflicted with great evils, yet was not so dejected in his mind, but that he hoped the time would come, that, being restored to his kingdom by the aid of his friends, (of whom he had many both in England and Scotland), he should be able to consider every particular man's service, and reward him accordingly; especially if the Scots would join their forces with his. And if ever he was restored to his kingdom by their arms, they should soon understand, that they had won a fast friend; and that at such a time too, when the trial of true friendship is wont to be made; for he and his posterity would be so gratefully mindful of the obligation, that they would ever acknowledge, that the accession of his better fortunes was due to them alone. Besides, he added many things in praise of the king, part of them true, and part accommodated to their present condition.

Having thus said, he held his peace; but the king called him up to him, and bid him take heart, for he would refer his demands to the council, whose advice, in grand affairs, he must needs have; yet, whatever they determined, he promised him faithfully, that he should not repent that he made his court his sanctuary. Upon this Perkin withdrew, and, the matter being put to a debate, the wiser sort, who had most experience in state affairs, thought it best to reject the whole business, either because they judged he was a counterfeit, or else, that they foresaw there would be more danger by war, than advantage by the victory, though they were sure of it. But the major part, either through unskilfulness in affairs, or inconstancy of spirit, or else to gratify the king, argued, that Perkin's cause was most just, and that they greatly pitied the man. They added also, that now matters were in some confusion in England, and men's minds were yet fluctuating, after the civil war, and therefore it was good to lay hold of this opportunity; and that, since the English were wont to do the like to them, they themselves ought to try, for once, to make use of the enemy's distractions for their own advantage; nay, they foretold a victory, preconceived in their own minds, before they had put on their armour, especially, if great forces of English came in to join them; nay, if they should not come in in such numbers as they hoped, yet one of these two things must necessarily follow, that either they should conquer Henry, and so settle this new king on the throne, who, in recompence for so great a benefit, must needs grant them all that they desired; or, if they could end the matter without blows, yet Henry, upon the quelling

domestic tumults, not being yet fully settled in his throne, would submit to what conditions they pleased; but if he refused so to do, when war was once begun, many advantages might offer themselves, which now were unforeseen.

This was the opinion of the major part; and the king himself inclining to them, his vote drew in the rest. After this, he treated Perkin more honourably than before, gave him the title of duke of York; and as such shewed him to the people. And not contented with that, he gave him Katharine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntly, to wife, a woman of as great beauty as nobility; and by this affinity, put him in full hopes of success. James therefore, by advice of his council, levied an army, and marched for England; first of all carrying it warily, and having his troops ready to engage, if any sudden assault should be made upon him. But afterwards, when he understood by his scouts, that the enemy had no army in the field, he sent out parties to plunder, and, in a short time, pillaged almost all Northumberland, and the countries thereabout. He staid some days in those parts, and not an English man stirred in behalf of Perkin. And it being told him, that an army was levying against him in the adjacent countries, he thought it dangerous to venture his soldiers, who were laden with booty, against the new and fresh forces of the English; and therefore he resolved to return into Scotland, and there to leave their booty; and, as soon as the time of the year would permit, to undertake a new expedition. Neither did he fear that the English would follow him in his retreat, for he knew that new-raised soldiers would not be long kept together, neither could they march after him through a country so lately harrassed and made quite desolate by the wars, especially having no provisions prepared before-hand. And besides, Perkin was afraid, because none of the English came to him, as he hoped, that if he staid any longer in his enemies' country, his cheat would be discovered; so that he himself seeming to approve of the king's resolution, came cunningly to him, and, composing his speech and countenance so as might best express his compassion, he humbly represented to the king, that he would not make such havoc in a kingdom that was his own by right; and, that he would not so cruelly shed so much blood of his subjects; for no kingdom in the world was of so much worth to him, as to have so many people's blood spilt for the sake of it, and his country so wasted with fire and sword, to procure it. The king began now to smell out and understand, whither this unseasonable clemency tended; and therefore told him, that he feared he would preserve that kingdom, in which not a man did own him as a subject, much less a king, not for himself, but for his capital enemy; and so, by common consent, they returned home, and the army was disbanded.

Henry, being thus acquainted with the invasion, and also the retreat of the Scots, appointed an expedition against them the year after, and in the mean time levied a great army; and that he might not be idle in the winter time, he summoned a parliament, who approved of his design to make war with Scotland, and granted a small subsidy upon the people for that end. The tax raised up a greater flame of war upon him at home, than that which he designed to quench abroad. For the commonalty complained, that their youth was exhausted by so many wars and impressments which had been within these few years, that their estates were impaired, and ran very low: but that the nobles and counsellors to the king were so far from being moved with these calamities, that they sought to create new wars in a time of peace, that so they might create new taxes on them, who were already in great want and necessity; and thus, when the sword had not consumed, famine and poverty would. These were the public complaints of all the commons; but the Cornish were more enraged than all the rest; for they, inhabiting a country which is in great part barren, are wont rather to gain than lose by wars: And therefore, that warlike people, having been accustomed rather to increase their estates by military spoils, than to lessen them by paying taxes and rates, first of all rose against the king's officers and collectors, and slew them; and then, being conscious that they had engaged themselves in so bold an attempt, that there was no retreat, nor hopes of mercy, the multitude flocking in daily more and more to them with arms in their hands, they began their march towards London. But it is not my business to prosecute the story of this insurrection; it is enough for my purpose to tell you, that the king was so busied this whole year by the Cornish, that he was forced to employ the army against them, which he had designed against Scotland.

In the mean time, James, foreseeing that Henry would not let the injuries of the former year pass unrevenged, and being also informed from secret intelligence, that he was raising great forces against him; he, on the other side, levied an army, to the intent that if the English invaded him first, he might be in a posture to defend himself; if not, then he himself would make an inroad into his enemy's country, and there so waste and destroy the bordering counties, that the soil (poor enough of itself) should not afford sufficient necessaries, even for the very husbandman. And, hearing of the Cornish insurrection, he presently began his march, and entered England with a great army, dividing his forces into two parts; one went towards Durham to ravage that country; and with the rest he besieged Norham, a strong castle situated upon a very high hill by the river Tweed. But neither here nor there was there any thing considerable done: For Rich-

ard Fox, bishop of Durham, a very prudent person, foreseeing that the Scots would not omit the opportunity of attempting somewhat during the civil broils in England, had fortified some castles with strong garrisons, and had taken care that the cattle and all kinds of provisions should be conveyed into places, either safe by nature, or else made safe by being guarded on the sides with moors and rivers. Moreover, he sent for the earl of Surry, who had great forces in Yorkshire, to assist him; and therefore the Scots only burnt the country, and not being able to take Norham, which was stoutly defended by those within, raised the siege, and without any considerable action returned home. Not long after, the English followed them, and demolished Ayton, a small castle, seated almost on the very borders, and then they returned out of their enemy's country also without any memorable performance.

Amidst these commotions, both foreign and domestic, Peter Hialas, a man of great wisdom, and, as times were then, not unlearned, arrived at England. He was sent by Ferdinand and Isabel, king and queen of Spain. The purport of his embassy was, That Catharine, their daughter, might marry Arthur king Henry's son, and so a new affinity and friendship might be contracted betwixt them. The English willingly embraced the affinity, and therefore were desirous to bring the war with Scotland to a conclusion; and, because Henry thought it was below his dignity to seek peace at the Scots' hands, he was willing to use Peter as a mediator. Peter willingly undertook the business, and came into Scotland; there he plied James with many arguments, and at last made him inclinable to a peace; and then he wrote to Henry, That he hoped a good peace would be agreed upon without any great difficulty, if he pleased to send down some eminent persons of his council to settle the conditions. Henry, as one that had often tried the inconstancy of fortune, and knowing that the minds of his subjects were grown fierce by these late tumults, and rather irritated than humbled, commanded Richard Fox, who resided in the castle at Norham, to join counsels with Hialas. These two had many disputes about the matter with the ambassadors of Scotland, at Jedburgh, and, after many conditions had been mutually proposed, they could agree upon nothing. The chief impediment was the demand of Henry, that Perkin Warbeck should be given up to him; for he judged it to be a very reasonable proposition, in regard he was but a counterfeit, and had been already the occasion of so much mischief. James peremptorily refused so to do; alleging, that it was not honourable in him to surrender up a man of the royal progeny, who came to him as a suppliant, whom he had also made his kinsman by marriage, to violate his faith, and let him be made a laughing-stock by his enemies. And thus the conference broke off; yet the hopes of an

agreement were not altogether lost; for a truce was made for some months, till James could dismiss Warbeck upon honourable terms.

When now by conference with the English, and other evident indications, it plainly appeared, that the tale concerning Perkin's state and kindred was a mere falsity; the king sent for him, and told him, what singular good-will he had borne him, and how many courtesies he had bestowed upon him, of which he himself was the best witness; as first, That he had undertaken a war against a potent king for his sake; and had now managed it a second year, to the great inconvenience of his enemy, and the prejudice of his own subjects: That he had refused an honourable peace which was freely offered him, merely because he would not surrender him up to the English; and thereby he had given great offence, both to his subjects and his enemy too; so that now he neither could nor would any longer withstand their desires. And therefore, whatever his fate might be, whether peace or war, he desired him to seek out some other and fitter place for it, for he resolved to make peace with the English; and when it was once solemnly made, to observe it as religiously; and to remove from him whatsoever might be an impediment to so great and good a work: Neither ought he to complain, that the Scots had forsaken him, since the English had done so first, in confidence of whose assistance the Scots had begun the war: And yet, notwithstanding of all these circumstances, he was resolved to accommodate him with provisions, and other necessities, to put to sea.

Warbeck was mightily troubled at this unexpected dismissal; yet he remitted nothing of his feigned height of spirit, but in a few days sailed over into Ireland with his wife and family: From whence soon after he passed into England, and there joined himself with the remnant of the Cornish rebels; but after many attempts, being able to do no good, he was taken; and, having confessed all the artifice and pageantry of his former life, he ended his days in an halter.

The seeds of war between England and Scotland being almost extinguished, and a great likelihood of peace appearing, on a sudden there arose violent animosities of spirit, upon a very light occasion, which was very near breaking out into a most bloody war. Some Scottish youths went over to the town of Norham, which was near the castle (as they used to do frequently in times of peace) there to recreate themselves in sports and pastimes, and to play together with their neighbours, as if they had been at home, for there was but a small river which divided them. The garrison in the castle, out of the rancour yet lodging in their breasts since the former war, and being also provoked by some passionate words, accused those Scots as spies, and so from words they came to blows; many were wounded on both

sides, and the Scots, being fewer in number, were forced to return home with the loss of some of their company. This business was often brought upon the carpet in the meetings between the lords of the marches; and at last James was very angry, and sent an herald to Henry, to complain of breach of truce, and how inconstant the English were in keeping covenant; and, unless satisfaction was given, according to the just laws which were made by general consent about restitution betwixt the borderers, he commanded his herald to declare war. Henry had been exercised by the violence of fortune, even from his cradle, and was therefore more inclined to peace. His answer was, that whatever was done of that kind, was against his will, and without his knowledge; and, if the garrison-soldiers had offended in this case by their temerity, he would issue out proper orders for an examination, and that, the leagues being kept inviolate, the guilty should be punished.

But this reparation went on but slowly, and James looked upon the answer as dilatory, and that the aim was to give the resentment time to cool, by putting off the punishment; which was rather a provocation than a satisfaction. Hereupon Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, who was owner of the castle, being much troubled that any of his tenants should give any occasion of breaking the league, did, in order to prevent it, send several letters to James, full of great submission, modesty and civility, which so inclined the mind of James, that he wrote him word back, that he would willingly speak with him, not only about the late wrongs done, but also about other matters which might be advantageous to both kingdoms. Fox acquainted his king herewith, and, by his consent, he waited upon James at Mulross, where he then was. There James made a grievous complaint of the injury at Norham; yet, by the prudent and grave discourse of Fox, he was so pacified, that, for peace sake, of which he shewed himself very desirous, he remitted the offence. Other things were acted privately betwixt them; but it appeared afterward, that the sum of them was this, that James did not only desire a peace, but (both before, and also now) an affinity with Henry, and a stricter bond of union. And if Henry would bestow his daughter Margaret upon him in marriage, he hoped that the thing would be for the benefit of both kingdoms; and if Fox, whose authority he knew to be great at home, would but do his endeavour to accomplish the affinity, he did not doubt but it would soon be effected. He freely promised his endeavour, and coming to the court of England, acquainted the king with the proposition, and thereupon gave hopes to the Scots ambassadors, that a peace would easily be agreed upon betwixt the two kings. Thus at length, three years after, which was *anno* 1500, even about one and the same

time, Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, was betrothed to James IV. and also Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, to Arthur, Henry's eldest son, and their marriages were celebrated with great pomp the next year after.

After the marriage all things were quiet, and the court turned from the study of arms to sports and pastimes; so that there was nothing but masks, shews, feasting, dancings, and balls; it was a continued jubilee, and, upon that account, every day was a holiday. There were also frequent tilts and tournaments, mostly according to the French mode, betwixt which (as tragical acts) some, who were wont to live upon spoil, came upon the stage, and challenged one another; which sport the king was pleased to behold, because he judged that the killing of them was a gain to him. When the noise of these tournaments came to foreign nations, many strangers, and especially from France, came daily over to shew their prowess, who were all liberally entertained by the king, and as bountifully dismissed. Neither did he rest in these ludicrous exercises, but he laid out a great deal of money upon building at Stirling, Falkland, and several other places, and especially in building of monasteries; but his cost about ships was greatest of all, for he built three stately ones of a great bulk, and many also of a middle rate; one of his great ones was, to admiration, the largest that ever any man had seen sail on the ocean, it being also furnished with all manner of costly accommodations. Our writers have given a description of it, (which I pass over,) and the measure of it is kept in some places; but the greatness of it appeared by this, that the news thereof stirred up Francis king of France, and Henry VIII. king of England, each of them to build a ship in imitation of it, and each endeavouring to outvie the other. When the ships were finished and fitted with all necessaries for sailing, and brought to the sea, they were so large, that they stood there like unmoveable rocks, unfit for any use.

These works, being very expensive, exhausted James's treasure; so that he was forced to devise new ways and means to get money, and amongst the rest, he pitched upon one, by the persuasion, as it was thought, of William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, which was very displeasing to all the nobility. Amongst the tenures of land in Scotland, this is one by which the owner holds what he buys, or is given him; that, if he die and leave his son and heir under age, the wardship of him shall belong to the king, or to some other superior lord, and all the revenue to be received by him, till the heir come to the age of twenty-one years. There is also another badge of slavery annexed to this tenure, that if an owner do sell *above half* his estate, without the consent of the chief lord, then he is to forfeit the whole to him. This law was introduced by court-parasites, to advance the king's exchequer;

but, being looked upon as unjust, had lain dormant a long time; but the king, being informed that the money might be got out of those that had broke through it, commanded it to be put in execution: that *process* they called *recognition*. This way of raising money by the king, though it deprived no man of his whole estate, yet was a greater grievance to the country, than his father's covetousness had been; for the wrong redounded to very many, and to the worthiest people most; because under the two last kings, by reason of their foreign, and also of their civil wars, the memory of that law was almost quite abolished; and so by reason of this new project, they were forced either to redeem their lands from the officers of the king's exchequer, or else to relinquish part of them. And yet the love of the subjects towards their king was so great, that though they suffered great inconvenience by it, his other virtues procured him such reverence amongst them, that their indignation did not proceed even to an insurrection.

But, as the king set no bounds to his expences, and there were not wanting flatterers, (a perpetual mischief to the courts), who covered this vicious excess under the plausible names of splendour and magnificence, he at last determined to undertake a voyage into Syria, that so he might put an end to his vast expence, (which he could neither continue without ruin, nor retrench without shame), and so, by his absence, to abridge it. He made an honest pretence for his journey; that it was to expiate the fault he had committed in bearing arms against his father. And indeed he had given some evidence of his penitence (whether true or pretended) upon this account, from the very beginning of his reign, (as I said before), and he would often speak of it in his common discourse. He had rigged a navy for this voyage, and had nominated the chief of his retinue; and had acquainted his neighbour kings, by his ambassadors, of his intent; and many of his followers, as if they had obliged themselves by the same vow, suffered the hair of their heads and beards to grow to a length; and, it was thought, he would immediately have taken ship, if some obstacles had not intervened, even whilst he was most intent on his journey. For, at that time there arose a vehement suspicion of a war like to ensue betwixt France and England; for Henry did not like the successes of the French in Italy; and besides, he was solicited by Julius II. then pope, and by Ferdinand of Spain, his father-in-law, to join with them, and with the Venetians, Swiss, and Maximilian too, (though he commonly regulated his counsels according to events); for it was likely that the junction of so many nations, in alliance against France, would almost swallow it up.

The king of England, being in the prime of his age, and sensible and proud of the power of his kingdom, and in his nature very forward for action, had a mighty mind to enter into this alli-

ance, but wanted a fair pretence to fall out with France. Both of them soon knew one another's minds by their spies; and when France could not be persuaded to desist from carrying on a war against the pope, who was Henry's friend, at length an herald was sent into France, to demand Normandy, Aquitain, and Anjou (as the old possessions of the English) in France. But as France was not moved by these threats neither, to intermit the wars in Italy, Henry immediately declared war against him, and sent an army into Biscay, to join his father-in-law Ferdinand; and he himself prepared for an expedition into France.

Now James of Scotland, though he resolved to side with neither of them, yet, as more inclinable to the French, he sent his navy before-mentioned, as a present to Anne, queen of France, that so it might seem rather a mark of his friendship, than any real assistance for military action. And moreover, the Scots clergy, who were used to the handling of French gold, were willing to shew themselves in behalf of Louis of France; and, since they durst not openly do it, they sought out proper occasions to alienate the king's mind from the English.

In order to this, Andrew Forman, then bishop of Murray, one of their faction, and a friend to Louis, was sent into England, to demand a vast sum of gold and silver; the greatest part of it consisted in women's jewels and ornaments, which were reported to be given by will, by Arthur, Henry VIII's elder brother, to his sister Margaret, now married to James, as I related before. Henry (as it is probable) looked upon this demand only as a pretence for a quarrel; and therefore he answered James very mildly, that if any thing was due to him, he would not only pay it, but if he wanted a greater sum, or any other assistance, he would not fail to supply him. When James had received this answer, he resolved to assist Louis in any other way, but by no means to invade England: and he sent over the same Forman into France, to acquaint Louis with it. Mean while, because he had heard that great naval preparations were making on both sides, he resolved to send the fleet before-mentioned to Anne immediately; that so it might arrive there before the war actually broke forth. He made James Hamilton, earl of Arran, admiral of it, and caused him to set sail the first opportunity. But Hamilton, though a man good enough, yet being more skilled in the arts of peace than war; either out of fear of danger, or else out of his habitual backwardness, left his voyage for France, and turned for Knockfergus, a town in Ireland, situated over against Galloway in Scotland; which place he pillaged and burnt. And afterward, as if he had been a mighty conqueror, he hoisted sail for Ayr (in Scotland) a port town in Kyle. When the king heard of his return, he was very much exasperated against him, and could not forbear to threaten

and upbraid him. And he was the more enraged against him, because he had received a letter from queen Anne out of France; the tendency of which was, to cajole him into a war against England. And he had also other letters from Andrew Forman, which informed him, that he was generally upbraided with the promise of sending the fleet, which they now looked upon as vain, in regard no such thing was done. The king was willing to obviate this mischief as well as he could; and therefore, seeing Hamilton had broke off the course he was commanded to take, and had destroyed a town that had never been an enemy to the Scots, and was then also in alliance with them; and so had made war upon his friends, without making any declaration of it beforehand; he cashiered him from the admiralship, and summoned him to appear before him. Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, was designed to succeed him in that command; and Andrew Wood was sent with him to take the fleet into his care. But Hamilton had notice by his friends, before their coming, of the king's displeasure against him, and therefore prudently hoisted sail, resolving rather to commit himself to the wide sea, than to an enraged king. He was a long time sailing for France, his ship being tossed with contrary winds, and sore storms in the way; so that he arrived not there till the French had laid aside the thoughts of any naval preparations; and then he landed in Base-Britain, where the ship, which cost so much money and labour to build, had her tackle taken out, and so rotted in the harbour of Brest.

In the interim, other causes of discord arose at home, which wholly alienated James from Henry. In the reign of Henry VII. there was one Robert Ker, a worthy knight, so much in James's favour for his excellent virtues, that he made him his chief cup-bearer, and master of his ordnance, and lord warden of the middle borders or marches. He was a severe punisher of all robbers; which more and more procured him the king's affection, but increased the hatred of the borderers; so that both English and Scots, whose licentiousness he restrained, by putting the laws in execution against them, jointly sought all occasions to take away his life. And at length, at a solemn meeting of Scots and English, which used to be kept, to adjust and recompense damages received, a quarrel began, and three Englishmen, bold fellows, John Hern, Lilburn, and one Starhed, set upon him; one came behind, and ran him through his back with a lance; and, when he was wounded, the other two despatched him quite. This business was likely to create a war; but Henry, as he was just in other things, so in this was as angry at James, at the foulness of the fact; and therefore he caused John Hern, the brother of the other John, lord of Foord, and governor of the English borders, be delivered up to the Scots, with Lilburn; for the other two had

made their escape. They were shut up in Fast-castle, and there Lilburn died. And, for the expiation of so manifest a crime, it was decreed, that in future assemblies of that kind, the English should first crave the public faith for their security, and so enter Scotland, and have their meetings there; and the ambassadors of England, by many solemn protestations and ceremony of words, should declare, that the public was not concerned, as guilty of that particular murder. The other two murderers lurked in the inland parts of England, till the reign of Henry VIII. and yet they went not unpunished; for when they had got a young king, fierce and potent, and saw that he was willing to shew the greatness of his strength, they ventured out of their retirements. Hern, by the mediation of his kindred, lived openly at his own house, and privately sent in robbers to Scotland, to disturb the public peace; hoping that, if a war was once begun, he should obtain indemnity for his *old* offences, and even a freedom to commit *new* with impunity. But Starhed got a place to live in about ninety miles from the borders, thinking to be safe by reason of the remoteness of his habitation. But Andrew Ker, the son of Robert, who saw that the seeds of hatred, which would soon break out into a war, were then sown, and fearing that if once they entered into arms, he should lose the avenging of his father's blood, persuades two of his tenants, of the family of the Tates, to disguise themselves, and kill Starhed. They undertook to do it; and so entered his house securely in the night, (for living so far from the borders, he thought he needed no watch); where they killed him, cut off his head, and brought it to Andrew. He, in testimony of his desired revenge, sends it to Edinburgh, and sets it up there, upon a high and conspicuous place. Of Hern I shall speak in due time.

Just upon the heels of this old injury, succeeded a new one; which awakened the anger of the king of Scots, that was rather asleep, than extinguished, before. At that time there was one Andrew Breton, a Scots merchant, whose father had a ship rifled by the Portuguese, and was himself barbarously murdered. Andrew got the cause heard in Flanders, (because there the murder was committed), where the Portuguese were cast; but they not paying what was adjudged, and their king, though James sent an herald to him for that end, not compelling them to do so, Andrew obtained letters of mart from James, to satisfy himself for the damages and murder; and it was directed to all princes and cities lying near the sea, that they should not account him as a pirate or robber, if, by open force, he revenged himself on the Portuguese, who were such violaters of common right and equity; so that in a few months he did much mischief to the Portuguese. Their ambassadors, in the height of the war the French made against pope Julius II. and which was soon like to break out against the English,

as siding with Julius, came to Henry, and told him, that this bold and impudent fellow, Andrew, who had done to them so much mischief, who were the ancient allies of the English, would assuredly be his enemy, when he warred against France; but now he was secure, and might easily be subdued and cut off; and, if the fact happened to be condemned as illegal, it might be excused, under a pretence of his exercising piracy; that if he would do this, he might prevent the losses of his own subjects, and also gratify their king, his friend and ally, very much. Henry was thus easily persuaded by the Portuguese, to entrap Andrew. In order to compass it, he sent his admiral, Thomas Howard, with two strong ships of the royal navy, to way-lay him in the Downs, (so they call the heaps of sand, which appear aloft when the tide is out) in his return from Flanders. It was not long before they espied him coming in a small vessel, with a less in his company, and set upon him. Howard himself attacked Andrew, between whom there was a sharp fight; and although Howard had all the advantage imaginable against him, yet he had much ado to take the ship; neither could he do that, till Andrew and many of his men were slain. This is certain, that Andrew was a man of that courage, even when his case was desperate, that though he had several wounds, and one of his legs was broken by a cannon bullet, yet he took a drum and beat an alarm, and a charge to his men, to encourage them to fight valiantly: this he did, till his breath and life failed him together. The lesser ship, finding that she was no way able to cope with the enemy, endeavoured to save herself by flight, but was taken with much less opposition. They who were not killed in the fight, were thrown into prison at London; from whence they were brought to the king, and humbly begging their lives of him, as they were instructed to do by the English, he, in a proud ostentation of his great clemency, dismissed and sent the poor innocent souls away. Upon this, ambassadors were sent into England by James, to complain, that his subjects' ships were taken in a time of peace, and the passengers slain. They were answered, that the killing of pirates was no violation of leagues; neither was it a justifiable cause for a war. This answer shewed the spite of one, that was willing to excuse a plain murder, and seemed as if he had sought an occasion for a war. Upon which the English, who inhabited the borders, by that which was acted above-board, guessed at their king's mind; and, being also accustomed to sow seeds of dissension in the times of the firmest peace; and besides, being much given to innovation, began to plunder the adjacent countries of the Scots.

At that time there was one Alexander Hume, who had the sole command of all the Scots borders, which were wont to be distributed into three men's hands; he was mightily beloved by James;

but his disposition was more fierce than was expedient for the good of those times. The king was intent upon war, and very solicitous how to blot out the ignominy received by those incursions; and Hume promised him, That he, and some of his kindred and vassals, would in a little time, make the English repent of the loss and damage they had done, as being resolved to turn their mirth into sadness. To make good his word, he gathered together about 3000 horse, entered England, and ravaged seven neighbouring villages, before any relief could come in; but as he was returning, his men, being accustomed to pillaging, and then also laden with a great deal of booty, being impatient to stay there any longer, divided their spoil, even in their enemy's country, and went their ways severally home. Alexander with a few brought up the rear, to see that no assault might be made upon them in their retreat; but perceiving none to follow, he was the more careless; and so fell into an ambush of 300 English, who, taking the opportunity, set upon them, and struck such a sudden terror into them, that they routed and put them to flight. In this skirmish, a great many of the Scots were slain, and 200 taken prisoners; amongst whom was George Hume, Alexander's brother, who was exchanged for the Lord Hern of Foord, who had been prisoner many years in Scotland, for the murder of Robert Ker: but all the booty came safe into Scotland, because they who drove it, were marched on before.

The king's mind, which was not easy before, upon the account of what I formerly related, being much irritated by the addition of this new offence, he grew unruly and headstrong, and immediately called a convention, to consult concerning the war. The wiser sort were against it; but La Mote, the ambassador of France, earnestly pressed it, by intreaties and promises: And also frequent letters from Andrew Forman urged the same thing; and the king himself shewing a very good will to it, many to gratify him, fell in with his opinion; the rest, being a minor part, and lest by a fruitless opposition they should incur the king's displeasure, gave also their assent; so that a war was voted to be made against England by land and sea (whether worse in resolution or event is hard to determine); and a set day was appointed for the army to rendezvous. An herald was sent into France to Henry, who was then besieging Tournay, to declare war against him. The causes of it were assigned to be these, That satisfaction for losses had been required, but not given; That John Hern, the murderer of Robert Ker, appeared publicly; that Andrew Breton, in violation of the leagues betwixt the two crowns, had been pillaged and slain by the king's own command: And though he should not mention any of those wrongs, yet he should never endure that the territories of Louis king of France, his ancient ally,

nor Charles duke of Guelderland, his kinsman, should be so miserably harassed with all the calamities of war; and therefore, unless Henry desisted from these hostilities, he bid him defiance. Henry being young, and having a flourishing and puissant kingdom, and besides, a general combination of almost all Europe against France alone; these things kindled a desire in his mind, which was otherwise ambitious enough of glory, to continue the progress of his arms; and therefore he gave the herald an answer more fierce than suited so young a prince: *That he heard nothing from him, but what he long before had expected from such a violator of all divine and human laws, and therefore he should do as he thought fit: For his part, he was resolved not to be threatened out of proceeding in a war, wherein he had so well prospered hitherto; and besides, he did not value his friendship, as having already had sufficient proof of his levity.*

This declaration of war being brought into Scotland, as the king was going to the army at Linlithgow, whilst he was at vespers in the church (as the manner was then) there entered an old man, the hairs of his head being red inclining to yellow, and hanging down on his shoulders; his forehead sleek, through baldness, bare-headed, in a long coat of a russet colour, girt with a linen girdle about his loins; in the rest of his aspect he was very venerable. He pressed through the crowd to come to the king: When he came to him, he leaned upon the chair on which the king sat, with a kind of rustic simplicity, and bespoke him thus: *O king! said he, I am sent to warn thee, not to proceed in thy intended design; and if thou neglectest this admonition, neither thou, nor thy followers, shall prosper. I am commanded also to tell thee, That thou shouldest not use the familiarity, intimacy, and counsel of women; which, if thou dost, it will redound to thy ignominy and loss.* Having thus spoken, he withdrew himself into the crowd; and, when the king enquired for him, after prayers were ended, he could not be found; which matter seemed more strange, because none of those who stood next, and observed him, as being desirous to put many questions to him, were sensible how he disappeared. Amongst them there was David Lindsay of Mont, a man of approved worth and honesty, and of a learned education, who, in the whole course of his life abhorred lying; and, if I had not received this story from him as a certain truth, I had omitted it as a romance of the vulgar.

But the king notwithstanding went forward in his march, and, near Edinburgh mustered his army; and, in a few days after, entered England, took the castles of Norham, Werk, Etel Foord, and some others near the borders of Scotland, by storm, and demolished them, and spoiled all the adjoining part of Northumberland. Mean while the king falls in love with one of the ladies he

had taken prisoner (she was Hern's wife of Foord) and neglected his present business; insomuch, that provision beginning to grow scarce, in a not very plentiful country, and it being very difficult to fetch it from afar, the greatest part of the army stole away, and left their colours very thin: only the nobles, with a few of their friends, clients, and vassals, and those not very well pleased neither, remained in the camp. The major part advised him, that he should no longer punish himself and his men, by abiding in a country that was wasted by war, and if it had not been so, yet was poor of itself; but rather that he would retreat, and make an attempt upon Berwick, the taking of which one place would turn more to account than all the towns and castles thereabouts: Neither, said they, would it be very difficult to take, because both town and castle were unprovided for defence. But the king thought that nothing was too hard for his arms, especially since the English were entangled with the war with France; so that, some court parasites soothing him up in his vanity, he judged that he might easily reduce that town in his retreat.

Whilst he thus lay unactive at Foord, there came heralds from the English, desiring him to appoint a place and time for the battle. Upon that, he called a council of war; and the major part were of opinion, that it was best to return home, and not to hazard the state of the whole kingdom with so small a force, especially since he had abundantly satisfied his credit, his renown, and the laws of friendship: neither was there any just cause, why he should venture his small army, and which had also been harassed with taking of so many castles, against the more numerous forces of the English, who had also newly received an addition of fresh men; for it was reported, that at that very time Thomas Howard arrived in the camp with 6000 very stout men, sent back out of France. Besides, if he retreated, the English army must of necessity disband; and then they could not bring them together again, from such distant places as they were levied, till the next year; but if he must needs fight, it were better so to do in his own country, where place, time, and provision, were more at his command. But the French ambassador, and some courtiers whom French gold had bribed and brought over to him, were of another mind, and easily persuaded James, who longed to fight, to stand the enemy in that place. In the mean time, the English came not at the day appointed by the herald; and then the Scots nobles took that opportunity to go again to the king, and told him, That it was the craft of the enemy to protract the time from one day to another, whilst their own force increased and the Scots were diminished; and that therefore he should use the same art against them: That it was now no dishonour to the Scots to retreat (since the English had not kept the time appointed) without fighting; or else, not to fight but when they them-

selves thought fit. The first of these advices was, in many respects, more safe; but if that did not please him, he had a fair opportunity offered him to comply with the latter. For, seeing the river Till had very high banks, and was almost no where fordable, there was no passage for an army over it within ten miles, but by one bridge, where a few men might keep back a great body; and if some of the English should get over, he might so place his ordnance as to beat down the bridge, and so they who had passed over, might be destroyed, before they could be relieved by those on the contrary side.

The king approved of neither advice, but answered resolutely, *That though the English were 100,000 strong, he would fight them.* All the nobility were offended at this unadvised answer, and Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, who was far superior to all the rest in age and authority, endeavoured to appease the king's fury by a mild oration, and to open the nature and reason of the two former advices. 'You have (said he) sufficiently satisfied your alliance with France, in that you have called off a great part of their enemy's army from them; for, by this means, they cannot run over all France, as by the multitude of their forces they hoped to do: neither can they do any great damage to Scotland, because they cannot long keep their army together in a cold country, already wasted by war, and otherwise not very fruitful; and, moreover, the winter now approacheth, which in the northern parts useth to begin betimes. As for the French ambassador (said he) I do not wonder that he is so earnest to press us to a battle; for he, being a stranger, studies not the common good of his master's allies, but the private advantage of his own nation; and therefore it is no wonder, if he push us on to fight, and so be prodigal of other men's blood. Besides, his demand is shameless; for he requires that of us, which his own king, though highly wise and prudent, doth not think fit to do, for the maintenance of his whole kingdom and dignity. Neither ought the loss of this army to be accounted small, because we are but few in number; for all that are any ways eminent for valour, authority, or counsel, in the whole kingdom of Scotland, are here summoned up in a body; if these are lost, the rest of the commonalty will be but an easy prey to the conqueror. Besides, to lengthen out the war is at present more safe, and more conducive to the main chance; for, if La Motte's opinion be, that the English are to be exhausted by expences, or wearied out by delays, what can be more advisable, in the present posture of affairs, than to compel the enemy to divide their forces? Part of them must be kept upon their guard for fear of us, as if we were continually likely to invade them; and the fear of that would take off a great

‘stress of the war from the French, though with no small toil
‘of ours. Besides, we have sufficiently consulted the glory and
‘splendor of our arms, which these men (who, I am afraid, are
‘more forward in words than actions) pretend, as a disguise and
‘veil of their temerity: for what can be more splendid than for
‘the king to have demolished so many castles, to have destroyed
‘the country with fire and sword; and, from so large devastations,
‘to bring home so much booty, that many years peace will not
‘restore a country so desolated, to its former condition? And
‘what greater advantage can we expect in a war, than that, to
‘our own great honour and renown, but to the shame and
‘disgrace of our enemies, we give our soldiers leave to refresh
‘themselves, having gotten estates and glory besides? And this
‘kind of victory, which is obtained rather by wisdom than arms,
‘is most proper for a man, especially for a general, in regard the
‘common soldiers can challenge no part of the fame belonging
‘to it.’

All that were present assented to what he spoke, as appeared by their countenances; but the king had taken a solemn oath that he would fight the English; and therefore he entertained his whole discourse with great disgust, and bid him *Get home again, if he was afraid*. Douglas immediately fell a weeping, as foreseeing the ruin of our affairs, and of the king himself, by his rashness; but, as soon as he was able to speak, he uttered these few words; ‘If my former life has not sufficiently vindicated me
‘from any suspicion of cowardice, I know not what will: as long
‘as my body was able to undergo hardship, I never spared it for
‘the good of my country, and to maintain the honour of my
‘king; but since now I am useful only for advice, and the king’s
‘ears are shut against it, I will leave my two sons, who, next to
‘my country, are most dear to me, with my other kinsmen and
‘friends, as sure pledges of my fidelity to you and my country;
‘and I pray God, that my fears may prove vain, and that I may
‘be rather accounted a false prophet, than what I dread, and do,
‘as it were, foresee in my mind, shall come to pass.’

Having thus spoken, he took his convoy and retinue and so departed. The rest of the nobles, because they could not bring over the king to their opinion, endeavoured to secure things the best they could; and that was, in regard they were inferior in number (for they had intelligence by their spies, that the English were 26,000 men) to advantage themselves by the opportunity of the ground and place, and so to encamp upon an hill that was near them: it was where Cheviot hills do gently decline into a plain, a small spot, with a narrow entrance into it, gradually sloping downwards. This passage they defended with their brass guns; behind them were the mountains; at the foot of them there was

a moorish piece of ground, which secured their left wing; on the right ran the river Till, whose banks were very high; over which there was a bridge for passage, not far from the camp. When the English had intelligence by their scouts, that they could not attack the Scots' camp without great damage, or rather certain ruin, they marched off from the river, and made a shew as if they intended to leave the enemy, and retire towards Berwick, and so directly into the neighbouring parts of Scotland, which was the best part of the country; there to damage the Scots more than the Scots had done the English before. And James was most inclinable to believe they would do so, because there was a rumour spread abroad, which either had an uncertain birth among the common people, or else was devised on purpose by the English, that their design lay that way, in order to draw the enemy down into the plain and champaign country. James would not endure that, and therefore set fire to the straw and huts, and removed his camp. The smoke occasioned by the fire covered all the river, so that the Scots by means of it could not see the English. These marched farther from the river, through places more impassable; but the Scots had a level and open march near the side of it, till hardly observing each other, they both came at last to Fluidon, or Floddon, a very high hill. There the ground was more level, and stretched itself out into a large field; and the river was also passable by a bridge at Tuisil; and there was a ford also at Milford. The English commanded their forlorn, first to draw their brass pieces over the bridge, the rest marched through the ford, and taking their ground, they set themselves in battle array, so as to cut off their enemies' retreat. Their numbers were so great, that they divided themselves, as it were, into two armies, distinct from one another, either of which was almost equal to the whole army of the Scots. In their first brigade, admiral Thomas Howard, who a little before came into his father with some of his sea forces, commanded the main battle; Edward Howard led on the right wing, and Marmaduke Constable the left: behind them the rest were placed as reserves, being divided into three bodies; Dacres commanded the wing in the right; Edward Stanly, that on the left; and the earl of Surrey, general of the whole army, the main body. The Scots had not men enough to divide their army into so many parties, unless they would extremely weaken their front; and therefore they divided their army into four bodies, at a moderate distance one from another; of which three were to charge first, and the fourth was for a reserve. The king led on the main body; Alexander Gordon commanded the right wing, to whom Alexander Hume and the Merch-men were joined; Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, and Gillespy Campbell, earl of Argyle, led on the third body. Adam

Hepburn, with his clans, and the rest of the nobility of Lothian, were in the reserves. The Gordons began a very sharp fight, and soon routed the left wing of the English, but, when they returned from the pursuit, they found almost all the rest of their brigades defeated; for one of them, in which was Lennox and Argyle, being encouraged by the success of their fellows, regardless of their ranks, fell upon the enemy in a very disorderly manner, leaving their colours far in their rear, though La Motte, the French resident, cried out much against it, and told them, they would run headlong to their own destruction; for they were received not only by the English standing in array before them, but were set upon by another party in the rear, and so almost all cut off. The king's body, and Hepburn's brigade, with the Lothianers, fought it out stoutly. There was a great slaughter on both sides, and the dispute continued till night; by which time both sides were weary. There were a great many slain of the king's main body. They who reckoned the full number of the slain, as their names were taken, according to the several parish-registers, out of which they came, say, that there were slain above 5,000 of the Scots. The loss was most of the nobility, and of the most valiant of them too, who chose rather to die upon the spot, than to survive the slaughter of their men. It is reported that the English lost as many, but that they were mostly common soldiers. This is the famous fight of Floddon, one of the most memorable of the few overthrows which the Scots have received from the English; not so much for the number of the slain (for they had lost more than double that number in former battles) but for the quality of the persons, the king, and the prime of the nobility falling there; so that few were left to govern the rabble, who were fierce by nature, and lawless also in hope of impunity.

And yet there were two sorts of men that gained advantage by this calamity of others: for the richer sort of church-men grew so insolent upon it, that, not contented with their own function, they sought to draw all the offices of the kingdom into their own hands: and the mendicant friars (for that sort of monks were then counted most superstitiously religious) had received much money of those that were slain, to keep for them; but it being delivered without witnesses, they were mightily enriched by this booty, and remitted the severity of their ancient discipline. Nay, some there were amongst them, who counted that gain, as a pious and holy fraud; alleging, that the money could never be better bestowed, than to be given to devout persons, that they might pray (forsooth) for the redemption of their souls out of purgatory.

The fight was carried on so obstinately, that, towards night, both parties were weary, and withdrew, almost ignorant of one

another's condition; so that Alexander Hume and his soldiers, who remained untouched, gathered up a great part of the spoil at their pleasure. But the next day, in the morning, Dacres being sent out with a party of horse to make discovery, when he came to the place of fight, and saw the Scots' brass guns without a guard, and also a great part of the dead unstripped, he sent for Howard, and so gathered up the spoil at leisure, and celebrated the victory with great mirth.

Concerning the king of Scotland, there goes a double report. The English say, he was slain in the battle; but the Scots affirm, that, in the day of battle, there were several others clothed in the like coat of armour, and the habit of the king; which was done on a double account; partly, lest the enemy should principally aim at one man, as their chief opponent, on whose life the safeguard of the army, and issue of the battle, did depend; and partly also, if the king happened to be slain, that the soldiers might not be discouraged, and sensible of his loss, as long as they saw any man armed and clothed like him in the field, and riding up and down, as a witness of their cowardice or valour. And that one of these was Alexander Elphinston, who in countenance and stature was very like the king; and many of the nobility, perceiving him armed in kingly habiliments, followed him in a mistake, and so died resolutely with him; but that the king repassed the Tweed, and was slain by some of Hume's men, near the town of Kelso; but it is uncertain whether it was done by their master's command, or else by the forwardness of his soldiers, who were willing to gratify their commander: for they, being desirous of innovation, thought that they should escape punishment, if the king was taken off; but if he should survive, they should be punished for their cowardice in the fight. Some other conjectures are added; as that the same night after this unhappy fight, the monastery of Kelso was seized upon by Ker, an intimate of Hume, and the abbot of it ejected; which it was not likely he would dare to have done, unless the king were slain; and moreover, David Galbreth, one of the family of the Humes, some years after, when John, the regent, questioned the Humes, and was troublesome to their family, is said to have blamed the cowardice of his fellows, who would suffer that stranger to rule so arbitrarily and imperiously over them; whereas he himself had been one of the six private men that had put an end to the like insolency of the king at Kelso. But these things were so uncertain, that when Hume was afterwards tried for his life, by James, earl of Murray, the king's natural son, they did not much prejudice his cause.

However the truth of this matter stands, yet I shall not conceal what I have heard Lawrence Talifer, an honest and a learned

man, report more than once, That being then one of the king's servants, and a spectator of the fight, he saw the king, when the day was lost, set upon an horse, and pass the Tweed. Many others affirmed the same thing. So that the report went current for many years after, that the king was alive, and was gone to Jerusalem, to perform a religious vow he had made; but would return again in due time: but that rumour was found as vain as another of the same broaching, which was formerly spread abroad by the Britons, concerning their Arthur; and, but a few years since, by the Burgundians, concerning Charles. This is certain, That the English found the body of the king, or of Alexander Elphinston, and carried it into England; and retaining an inexpiable hatred against the dead, they left it unburied in a leaden coffin (I know not whether their cruelty was more foolish, or more barbarous) because he had borne sacrilegious arms against pope Julius II. whose cause the English zealously espoused; or else, as some say, because he was perjured, as having, contrary to the oath and league between them, taken up arms against Henry VIII. Neither of which aspersions ought to have been cast upon him, especially by such a king, who, during his life, was not constant or true to any one religion; nor by such a people, who had taken up arms so often against the bishops of Rome. Not to speak of many of the kings of England, whom their own writers do accuse as guilty of perjury; as William Rufus, who is charged with that crime by Polydore and Grafton; Henry I. by Thomas Walsingham, in his description of Normandy; king Stephen hath the like brand of infamy cast upon him by Neobrigensis, Grafton, and Polydore; Henry II. by the same; Richard I. by Walsingham, in his *Hypodigma Neustrie*; Henry III. by Neobrigensis, Grafton, and Walsingham; Edward I. by Walsingham. I cull out these few for example's sake, not out of the first kings of the Saxon race, of which I might instance a great many, but out of those of the Norman family, whose posterity enjoy the kingdom to this day, and who lived in the most flourishing times of England's glory; to put them in mind, not to be so bitter against foreigners, while with so much indulgence they bear the perjuries of their own kings; especially since the guilt of the crime objected lies principally on those, who were the first violators of the truce. But to return to our narrative.

Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, had gone off with great renown for that victory over the Scots, if he had used his success with moderation; but being almost drunk with his vast success, and little mindful of the instability of human affairs, he made his household servants (as the English custom is) to wear a badge on their left arms, which was a *white lion* (his own arms) standing upon a *red one*, and rending him with his paws. God Almighty

seemed to punish this his insolent bravado; for there were scarce any of his posterity of either sex, but what died in great disgrace or misfortune.

But king James, as he was dear to all whilst living, so he was mightily lamented at his death; and the remembrance of him stuck so fast in the minds of men, as the like was not known of any other king that we have heard of. 'Tis probable that it happened, by making a comparison with the evils which preceded his reign; or else very likely speedily to follow after it; considering also his eminent virtues: Nay, his vices were popular, and easily deceived vulgar minds, under a specious resemblance and affinity to virtue. He was of a strong body, just stature, a majestic countenance, of a quick wit, which, by the fault of the times, was not cultivated by learning. He greedily imbibed one ancient custom of the nation; for he was skilful in curing wounds; for in old times, that kind of knowledge was common to all the nobility, as men continually accustomed to arms. The access to his presence was easy; his answers were mild; he was just in judging, and moderate in punishing; so that all men might easily see he was drawn to it against his will. He bore the malevolent speeches of his enemies, and the admonitions of his friends with a greatness of mind, which arose in him from the tranquillity of a good conscience, and the confidence of his own innocency; insomuch that he was so far from being angry, that he never returned them an harsh word. There were also some vices, which crept in among these virtues, by reason of his too great affection of popularity. For by endeavouring to avoid the name of a covetous prince, which his father had incurred, he laboured to insinuate himself into the good-will of the vulgar, by sumptuous buildings and feastings, by costly pageants and immoderate grants; so that his exchequer was brought very low: And his want of money was such, that if he had lived longer, the merits of his former, reign would have been extinguished, or at least out-balanced by his imposition of new taxes; so that his death seemed to have happened rather commodiously, than unseasonably to him.

JAMES V. *the hundredth and sixth king.*

WHEN James IV. was slain, he left his wife Margaret and two sons behind him; the eldest of which was not yet quite two years old. The parliament assembled at Stirling, proclaimed him king, according to the custom of the country, on the 24th day of February; and then they applied themselves to settle the public affairs; in endeavouring at which, they first

perceived the greatness of their loss: For those of the nobility, who bore any thing of authority and wisdom, being slain, the major part of those who survived, by reason of their youth, or incapacity of mind, were unfit to meddle with matters of state, especially in so troublesome a time; and they who were left alive of the greater sort, who had any thing of ability in them, by reason of their ambition and covetousness abhorred all counsels tending to peace. Alexander Hume, lord warden of the marches, had got a great name, and a large estate, in the king's life-time; but, when he was dead, he obtained an almost regal authority in the countries bordering upon England. He, out of a wicked ambition, did not restrain robbers, that so he might more engage those bold and lewd persons to himself, thinking thereby to pave a way to greater power: But, as that design was pernicious, so was the end of it unhappy. The command of the country on this side the Forth, was committed to him; the parts beyond to Alexander Gordon, to keep those seditious provinces within the bounds of their duty: but the title of regent was invested in the queen. For the king had left in his will, which he made before he went to fight, that if he miscarried, she should have the supreme power as long as she remained a widow. This was contrary to the law of the land, and the first example of any woman, who ever had the supreme rule in Scotland; yet the want of men made it seem tolerable, especially to them who were desirous of peace and quietness. But her office continued not long; for, before the end of the spring, she married Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, one of the prime young men of Scotland, for lineage, beauty, and accomplishments in all good arts. And before the end of that year, the seeds of discord were sown. They took their rise from the ecclesiastical order; for, after the nobles were slain, in all public assemblies a great part were of that sort of men; and many of them made their own private fortunes amidst the public calamity, and got such estates, that nothing hastened their ruin more than that inordinate power, which they afterwards as arrogantly used.

Alexander Stuart, archbishop of St. Andrews, was slain at Floddon; and there were three which strove for that preferment, but upon different interests, Gavin Douglas, upon the account of the splendor of his family, and his own personal worth and learning, was nominated to the place by the queen, and accordingly took possession of the castle of St. Andrews. John Hepburn, abbot of St. Andrews, before any archbishop was nominated, gathered up the revenues of the place, as a sequestrator; and he being a potent, factious, and subtile man, was chosen by his monks to the vacancy (for he alleged, that the power of electing an archbishop, by ancient custom, was in them); so that he drove out the officers of Gavin, and placed a strong garrison in the castle. Andrew Forman had obtained great favour in the

courts both of Rome and France, by his former services; so that, besides the bishopric of Murray in Scotland, which was his first preferment, Louis XII. of France gave him the archbishopric of Bourges. And pope Julius had also sent him home loaded with honours and benefices; for he bestowed on him the archbishopric of St. Andrews, the two rich abbeys of Dunfermline and Aberbrothock, and made him his legate *a latere* (as they call him) besides. But so great was the power of the Hepburns at that time, that, the Humes being yet in concord with them, no man could be found that durst proclaim the pope's bull for the election of Forman to that dignity; till at last Alexander Hume was induced by great promises, and besides other gifts, with the actual donation of the abbey of Coldingham to David his youngest brother, to undertake the cause, which seemed to be honourable; and especially because the family of the Formans was in clanship, or protection of the Humes. So he caused the pope's bull to be published at Edinburgh; and that was the original of many mischiefs which ensued; for Hepburn, being a man of a lofty spirit, from that day forward studied day and night how to destroy the family of the Humes.

The queen, whilst she sat at the helm, did this one thing worthy to be remembered, that she wrote to her brother that he would not make war upon Scotiand, in respect to her and her young children; that he would not infest with English arms, his nephew's kingdom, which of itself was divided into so many domestic factions; but that he would rather defend him against the wrongs of others, upon the account of his age, and the affinity betwixt them. Henry answered very nobly, and much like a prince, *That with peaceable Scots he would cultivate peace, and make war with such as came armed against him.*

When the queen, by reason of her marriage, fell from the regency, the nobility was manifestly divided into two factions. The Douglassian party desired, that the chief power might reside in the queen; and that this was the way to have peace with England; which was not only advantageous, but even necessary for them. The other party, headed by Hume, pretended an umbrage of the public good; and that it was against the old laws of the land to chuse a woman to be regent. As for the queen, they would be studious of her honour, as far as they might by law, and as far as the public safety would permit; and that a sufficient proof had been given of it, in regard they had hitherto submitted to her government, (though it was against the customs of their forefathers) not by any legal compulsion, but out of mere goodwill; and that they were ready to endure it longer, if any honest and equitable pretence could be alleged for it. But since she, by her marriage, had voluntarily deposed herself from that dignity,

she ought not to take it amiss, if they substituted another to enjoy that office which she had left, and which indeed by the law she could not hold; for the laws of Scotland do not permit women to have the supreme power, no not in times of peace, much less in such troublesome days as those, when the most powerful and most prudent man alive, could hardly find remedies for the many growing evils of the times.

Thus, whilst each faction strove vigorously about the choice of a regent, they passed over all there present, either upon account of ambition, or private grudges, or envy, and inclined to chuse John duke of Albany, then living with good repute in France. William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, is reported to have burst forth into tears, in bewailing the public misfortune; and his speech affected many, especially when he came to reckoning up what men were slain in the last fight, and how few like them were left behind, of whom none was thought fit to sit at the helm of government. He also told them, how empty the exchequer was, how it had been exhausted by the late king, how great a portion of it was the queen's jointure, how much necessarily must be expended on the education of the king; and then how little a part of it would remain to maintain the charges of the public; and that, though none was more fit for the regency than the queen, yet seeing concord could not be had on other terms, he yielded to that party who were for calling John duke of Albany out of France, to take the regency upon him; though he thought that the public misery would rather be deferred than entirely ended by it. Alexander Hume was so violent for Albany, that he professed openly in the assembly, that if they all refused, he himself would go alone, and bring him over into Scotland, to undertake the government. It is thought he did this, not for any public or private good end, but merely out of this respect, that being an ambitious man, and knowing that his interest in the people was more upon the account of his power, than any real love; therefore himself despairing of the place, he was afraid, if the queen should have it, the Douglasses, his neighbours, would grow too great, and his power would abate; for the men of Lidsdale and Annandale had already withdrawn themselves, and had, by little and little, gone over to the clan of the Douglasses. And besides he considered, that the queen, by assistance from England, was easily able to obviate all his designs; so that most voices carried it for John of Albany; and an embassy was appointed (the chief whereof was Andrew Wood of the * Largs, a famous cavalier in those days) to call him into Scotland for the administration of the government, both upon account of his own virtues, and al-

* A little town in Cunningham, standing on the frith of Clyde.

so by reason of his near consanguinity with the king; for he was the son of Alexander, brother of James III. He being thus called to the supreme government by the Scots, Francis king of France thought his advancement suited well with the French interest, and therefore he furnished him with money and a retinue at his departure. Before his arrival, in regard there was no one person to administer the public government, there were many murders and rapines committed, and, whilst the greater sort made up their private clans and factions, the poor destitute vulgar were afflicted with all kind of miseries. The chief robber of those times was Mac Robert Stran, who committed outrages all over Athol and the neighbouring parts, at his pleasure, having 800 men, and sometimes more, under his command. At length, when he was at his uncle John Crichton's, he was way-laid, apprehended, and put to death. But there was more mischief like to arise from the feud between Andrew Forman and John Hepburn; yet the nature of them both, and the discord, rather of their manners than minds, deferred the mischief for a season, which was then just breaking out. John was profoundly covetous, and Andrew was a great despiser of money, and profuse in his bounties. The designs and purposes of Andrew were open and manifest to the view of all; neither was there any need that he should much conceal them, because his vices were accounted virtues by the vulgar; and the simplicity of his nature did him as much kindness among them, as the sly hidden craft of Hepburn, together with his malicious dissimulation, his implacable remembrance of injuries, and desire of revenge did him. And therefore Forman, having as yet no certainty of the coming of the duke of Albany, neither could he be put into possession of his ecclesiastical preferment by Hume, seeing Hepburn had his castle and monastery which he had strongly garrisoned, which were at a great distance from those places, in which the power of the Humes might be formidable; he determined, by his friends, to try whether he could, with money, either satisfy, or, at least, in some degree, abate the avarice of the man; so at last they came to an agreement on these terms, that Forman should remit and forgive the revenues of some years past, which John had gathered in, as a sequestrator; that he should surrender up to him the bishopric of Murray; and that he should pay him yearly 3000 French crowns out of the ecclesiastical revenues, to be divided amongst his friends. And thus the implacable man's hate was a little abated, and matters settled on that side.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S C O T L A N D.

B O O K XIV.

THIS was the state of affairs in Scotland, when John duke of Albany arrived at Dumbarton, on the 20th day of May, in the year 1515, to the exceeding joy of all good men. For under his government they hoped for more quiet times, and an equal distribution of justice. In a full assembly of the nobility, summoned in his name, he had a large revenue settled upon him; he was declared duke of Albany, earl of March, and created regent till the king should come to age.

Moreover, James, the natural son of the late king, was made earl of Murray; a young man of such virtuous enduements, that he far exceeded all the hopes men had conceived of him. There was also one fact which much enhanced the esteem they had for the new regent; and it was done almost in the face of the assembly, and that was the punishment of Peter Mauffat. He was a notable thief, who, after many cruel and wicked acts done by him, in the two last licentious years, arrived at length to that pitch of impudence, that he appeared openly at court. His unexpected punishment made such a sudden change of things, that criminals began to withdraw for shelter. The minds of the good were set at ease, and the face of things began soon to be changed, and a stormy tempest was smothered into a sudden tranquillity.

In the mean time John Hepburn had so insinuated himself into the regent, by the help of his friends, whom he had privately made so by bribery, and afterwards, by his obsequiousness, and pretence of knowing the old customs of the country, he got his ear,

who, of himself, was ignorant of Scottish affairs; insomuch that none was credited in matters of great moment, but *he alone*. He was sent with commission, by the regent, all over Scotland, to inquire into their offences, who oppressed the vulgar, and made them as their slaves. He obtained that office principally upon these grounds; first of all, he acquainted the regent what new discords and old feuds there were in every country; and also what factions there were, and who werè their respective heads. And indeed so far his relations were true, for the things were known to all. But if any occasion was offered to speak of Hume, he stirred up some to complain of his enormity; so that by the imputation, partly of true, and partly of feigned crimes, the regent's ears were shut against all defence he could make. But when he had almost run over the whole kingdom in his discourse, and placed in a clear light all and singular the alliances, affinities and leagues, between each several family, and brought over the regent to this persuasion, that no man of power, though a criminal, could be punished, but all whole clans would immediately take offence at it. So that it was not a conspiracy of their kindred only, that was so much to be dreaded, as the consequence of a punishment, by which, though few were made examples, a great many would be touched, whom a similitude of faults, and a like fear of punishments, would make friends, though they had been enemies before: which great and large spreading factions were too powerful to be punished by the single force of Scotland; and therefore it was advisable to desire an auxiliary strength from the king of France, to break the knot of so strong and so bold a confederacy; and that this would be of use to France, as much as to Scotland. In the mean time, the heads of the factions were to be kept under, and, if possible, taken off; yet with such prudence, that they should not have room to imagine, too many of them were aimed at, at once. The heads of the factions, at present, were three; Archibald Douglas, the most flagrantly popular of them all, and the idol of the mob. His name was much adored by reason of the great merits of his ancestors; besides, he was in the flower of his youth, and relied so much on his affinity with England, that he bore a spirit too big for a private man. As for Hume, he was formidable of himself; and yet rendered more so, because he was *confirmed* in his power by *length of time*. Neither did he stop here, but made a most invidious memorial of what the Humes had acted against the regent's father and uncle; of all which though the Hepburn's were partakers, yet he cast the odium upon the Humes only. He often mentioned his cowardice in the last battle against the English; and the talk abroad about the king's death reflecting upon him, together with the repairing of Norham castle, which was done by his connivance. He dressed up all these stories in various

turns of phrase, and repeated them very zealously, over and over again, to the regent, that they might not fail of making a very deep impression. *As for Forman (says he) it is true, he is not mightily to be dreaded upon the account of his kindred, or any nobleness of descent; yet even he would make a great accession of strength to what party soever he inclined, because all the wealth of the whole kingdom was gathered together (as it were) into one house, and he was singly able, from his treasures, to supply the present want of the party he sided with, or else by his promises (all things being then in his power) he could draw many into the same counsels, and pack up one general confederacy.* This was Hepburn's speech to the regent.

The notorious animosities between Hepburn and Forman, made that part of his tale to be less credited; and besides, his estate was not so much to be envied, for he rather loved to lay it out, than to hoard it up; neither was he so munificent to any, as to the French that waited on the regent. And besides, his desire was more to join all parties in an universal concord, than to pin himself to any one faction. But the suspicion of Hume, the lord of the marches, sunk deeper into the regent's mind, which his colder way of treating him at all the public meetings, and sour unwonted looks too openly betrayed. - So that, after a few months, Alexander Hume, perceiving that he was not entertained by the regent answerable to his expectation, began to have secret meetings with the queen and her husband. In those congresses, Hume grievously lamented the state of the public, that the king, at an age when it was impossible he should understand his own misery, was fallen into the hands of an exile; of a man born and brought up in banishment; whose father, out of a wicked ambition, endeavoured to rob his elder brother of the kingdom: and as he was now the next heir, who could not plainly see that all his endeavours were to settle other things according to his mind, and then to pack the innocent child out of the world, that he might make the kingdom his own; and so, by the last degree of wickedness, accomplish what his father impiously designed? There was but one remedy in the case, and that was, for the queen to retire with her son into England, and there to put herself and concerns into the protection of her brother.

These things were speedily brought to the regent's ears, and as easily believed by him; but being a man of an active spirit, and of quick dispatch in business, he presently frustrated that design with those forces which he had ready about him; for he took the castle of Stirling, and the queen in it. He took the oath of allegiance to the king publicly. The queen and the Douglasses were removed by a decree of the lords; and three of the nobility, of great estimation for their faithfulness and integrity, were joined with John Erskine, governor of the castle, to preside over the

education of the young king. They were to succeed one another by turns, and he allowed them a guard for their security. Upon this, Hume and his brother William fled into England; and Douglas and his wife staid no longer behind them than just to know Henry's mind, who commanded them to stay at Harbottle in Northumberland, till his pleasure was further known.

John the regent was very much concerned at their departure; and therefore he presently sent ambassadors into England, to acquit himself before Henry, that he had done nothing why the king should fear him, or be in the least disaffected towards him; neither had he acted any thing against those who accompanied her in her flight and departure, but that they might enjoy their country, and their freedom, and, if they pleased, their estates. Thus he wrote publicly to the king. But besides that, he did not omit secretly to promote the return of the Humes and Douglasses, by the mediation of their friends. He made them many large promises, till he had brought them over to his will. Whereupon the rest returned home; but the queen being near the time of her delivery, was constrained to stay there, where she was brought to bed of a daughter named Margaret; of whom, in due place. But as soon as she was able to travel, she had a royal accommodation and retinue sent from London, to bring her up thither; where she was honourably and nobly received by Henry her brother, and Mary her sister; who, upon the death of her husband, Louis of France, had a little before returned into her own country.

And yet the suspicions before raised in Scotland, were not much abated, either by the departure of the queen, or the return of some of her retinue. For Gavin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, Patrick Pantar, secretary of state to the former king, and John Drummond, chief of his family, were sent several ways into banishment. Alexander Hume was summoned to appear before the assembly of the estates, on the 12th of June, in the year of our Lord 1516. But he not appearing, was condemned, and his goods confiscated. He was enraged at this contumelious injury, (for so it was in his eye) and, to drive out one fear by another, he either sent in, or else encouraged public robbers, to commit great outrages in the neighbouring parts. Whereupon the states ordered the regent ten thousand horse and foot, to repress those insolences, and either to take Hume, or else to drive him out of the country. But before it came to blows, Hume, by the persuasion of his friends, surrendered himself to the regent, and so was carried to Edinburgh, there to remain a prisoner under James Hamilton, earl of Arran, his sister's husband, who was to be deemed a traitor, if he suffered him to escape. But the issue of that matter fell out otherwise than any body expected; for Hume persuaded Hamilton to make a joint escape with him, and to form

a party, and so to enter on the government himself, he being the next heir after the former king's children, in regard he was born of a sister of James III. and therefore it was more equitable that he should enjoy the next place to the king than John, who, it is true, was also the son of a brother, but born in his banishment; and in all other things a perfect foreigner; a man who could not so much as speak the language of the country.

When the regent heard of this, he went to take Hamilton's castle; and, planting his brass guns against it, forced it to surrender in two days. In the mean time Hume made excursions out of March, and pillaged the country round about; and at length burnt down a great part of the country of Dunbar. These were the transactions of that year.

At the beginning of the spring, John Stuart, earl of Lennox, whose mother was Hamilton's sister, assembled a great many of his friends and vassals, and joined the rebels; these seized upon the castle of Glasgow, and there they staid with Hamilton himself, expecting the regent's approach. The regent had called a council of the nobles of his party at Edinburgh, and there raised a sudden force, and entered Glasgow castle; one gunner, a Frenchman, was punished as a deserter; the rest were pardoned by the intercession of Andrew Forman, who was then a mediator for peace between them. The earl of Lennox, a few days after, was received into favour, and, from that day forward, carried it with great faithfulness and observance, towards the regent. And, not long after, first Hamilton, and then the Humes, returned to court, and had an amnesty for what was past: it was granted to Hume with greater difficulty than to the rest, because he had rebelled so often; and an express condition was added, that if he offended another time after that, the memory of his old crimes should be again revived, and the guilt of them charged upon him afresh. Peace being thus settled, the regent retired to Falkland, where he staid some months; but hearing of great suspicions and jealousies of Hume's intrigues, he returned to Edinburgh, and on the 24th day of September held a council of the nobility, where he endeavoured by his friends to draw Hume to court. Large promises were made to entice Hume thither, but many of his party dissuaded him; or, if he himself was resolved to go, yet he should leave his brother William (who, by his valour and munificence, had almost obtained as great, or a greater authority than himself) at home, in regard the regent would be afraid to use any high severity against him, as long as his brother was alive. But he being (as it were) hurried on by a fatal necessity, slighted the advice of his friends, and with his brother William, and Andrew Ker, of Farnihurst, came to court, where presently they were all clapped up in several prisons, and, by the advice of the

council, a few days after, were tried for their lives, after the custom of their country, though no new crime was laid to their charge. Prince James, earl of Murray, accused Alexander of the death of his father, who came *alive* out of the field, as many witnesses did testify. This fact was strongly urged, but the proofs were weak, so that they gave it over, and insisted only on his private crimes; the many former rebellions were also objected, of all which, if Alexander was not the author, he was at least a partaker in them; and moreover, it was alleged, that he did not do his duty in the battle of Floddon.

In consequence of this, the Humes were condemned; Alexander's head was struck off the 11th of October, and his brother's the day after. Both their heads were set up in the most conspicuous place, as a terror to others, and their estates confiscated. This was the end of Alexander Hume, the most powerful man in Scotland of his time. He in his life-time had drawn upon his own head the hatred and envy of a great many men; yet those prejudices in time abating, his death was variously spoken of, and so much the more, because he fell not for the perpetration of any new crime, but merely by the calumnies (as it was thought) of John Hepburn, the abbot; for he, being a factious man, and eager of revenge, bore an implacable hatred against Hume; because, by his means alone, he was disappointed of the archbishopric of St. Andrews: so that, though he had stifled his old resentments for a time, yet it was believed he pushed on the regent (who in his own nature was suspicious enough of, and disaffected to, the Humes) to the greater severity against him, by telling him, how dangerous it would be to the king and all Scotland, if he, at his going into France, should leave so fierce an enemy alive behind him: For what would he not attempt in his absence, who had despised his authority when present? so that the contumacy of the man, who could not be gained by rewards, honours, nor by frequent pardons, had need to be conquered by the ax, if ever he would keep Scotland in quiet. These and such like insinuations, upon pretence of consulting the public safety, being buzzed into the ears of a man, so much disgusted with them before, contributed more to the destruction of the Humes (in the judgment of many) than any of their crimes. When the Humes were put to death, Andrew Ker obtained the respite of one night, to provide for his soul's health; but, by means of his friends, and especially of a Frenchman, his keeper, it was suspected, upon the payment of a good sum of money down upon the nail, he made his escape.

Alexander Hume left three brothers behind him, who all met with various misfortunes in those days; George, for a murder he had committed, lay private as an exile, in England. John, ab-

bot of Jedburgh, was banished beyond the Tay. David, the youngest, prior of Coldingham, about two years after the execution of his brothers, being called forth by James Hepburn, his sister's husband, upon pretence of a conference, fell into an ambush laid purposely for him, and was slain, being much pitied by all; that an innocent young man, of so great hopes, should be betrayed so unworthily by one, who had so little reason so to do. When punishments had thus ranged over the whole family of the Humes, at last it fell to the enemies' share, especially to John Hepburn's, who had been so severe an exactor of the unjust punishment of others: yet the destruction of one family, once so powerful, brought such a panic upon all the rest, that matters were the quieter a great while after. The next December, the regent brought the king from Stirling to Edinburgh, and then he desired leave of the nobility of Scotland to return into France: every one almost was against the motion; so that he was forced to stay till late in the spring, and then took shipping, promising speedily to return, in case any more than ordinary commotion should arise, which required his presence. The government of the kingdom, in his absence, he left to the earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Huntly; the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow; to whom he added Anthony Darcy, a Frenchman, governor of Dunbar, who was enjoined to correspond with him, and to inform him of all that passed in his absence. And, that no discord might arise out of an ambitious principle, between such great and noble personages, by reason of their parity in the government, he allotted to each of them their several provinces. Darcy, the Frenchman, the rest condescending thereunto, had the chief place amongst them, March and Lothian being appointed to be under his government. The other provinces were distributed to the rest, according to each man's particular conveniency. Mean while the queen, about a year after she had been in England, near the end of May, returned to Scotland, and was attended by her husband from Berwick: but they lived not together so lovingly as before.

The regent at his departure, to prevent the budding and growth of sedition in his absence, had carried along with him either the heads of the noblest families, or else their sons and kindred, upon a pretence of doing them honour, but indeed as pledges, into France; and he had sent others of them into different and remote parts of the kingdom, where they had, as it were, but a larger prison. He had also placed French governors in the castles of Dunbar, Dumbarton, and Garvy; yet a commotion arose, upon a slight occasion, where it was least feared or dreamed of.

Anthony Darcy had carried it with a great deal of equity and prudence in his government, especially in restraining of robberies. The first tumult in his province, which tended to any thing of

war, was made by William Cockburn, uncle to the lord of Langton; he had driven away the guardians of the young ward, and had seized upon the castle of Langton, relying principally on the power of David Hume, of Wedderburn, whose sister Cockburn had married. Thither Darcy marched with a sufficient guard; but they within refused to surrender the castle: and moreover, David Hume, with some few light horse, riding up to him, upbraided him with the cruel death of his kinsman Alexander. The Frenchman, partly distrusting his men, and partly confiding in the swiftness of the horse he rode upon, fled towards Dunbar; but his horse falling under him, his enemies overtook and slew him, and set up his head on an eminent place in Hume castle. He was slain the 20th of September, in the year 1517.

Whereupon the other governors had a meeting, and fearing a greater commotion after this terrible beginning, they made the earl of Arran their president, and committed George Douglas, brother to the earl of Angus, upon suspicion of being privy to the murder newly committed, prisoner to Insegarvy castle; they also sent to the regent in France, to call him back into Scotland, as soon as ever he could. About the same time, some seeds of discord were sown between the earl of Angus, and Andrew Ker, of Farnihurst, by reason of the jurisdiction over some lands which did belong to the earl; but Andrew alleged he had power to keep courts in them: the rest of the family of the Kers sided with the earl, but the Hamiltons took part with Andrew; which they did more out of hate to the Douglasses, than for any justice Ker had in his pretensions: so that both parties provided themselves against the court-day, to run a greater hazard than the matter they strove about was worth; and John Somervell, a noble and high-spirited young man, of the Douglasses' faction, set upon James, the natural son of the earl of Arran, on the highway, and killed five of his retinue, putting the rest to flight; he also took above thirty of their horses.

When an assembly was summoned to be held at Edinburgh, April the 29th, 1520, the Hamiltons alleged, that they could not be safe in that city, where Archibald Douglas was governor. Whereupon Douglas, that he might not obstruct public business, about the end of March, resigned his government of his own accord; and Robert Long, a citizen of Edinburgh, was substituted in his place. The nobility of the west part of Scotland, of which there were very many, had frequent meetings in the house of James Beton, the chancellor; their design was to apprehend the earl of Angus; for they alleged, that his power was too great and formidable to the public; that, as long as he was at liberty, they should have no freedom for debate or resolutions. An opportunity seemed to favour their design; for he, having now but a few

of his vassals about him, might be easily surprized before his kindred came to his assistance. When he perceived what was in agitation against him, he sent his uncle Gavin, bishop of Dunkeld, to pacify them, whom he said he had provoked with no injury, and to desire them to manage the dispute without force of arms; for if they could make out any just complaint against him, he was willing in equity to give them all satisfaction. But his speech availed him nothing at all, being made to men proud of their numbers, puissant, and greedy of revenge. And, therefore, Gavin could obtain no good terms from them, but returned to Angus and acquainted him with the arrogance of his enemy, and then caused his whole family to follow the earl; he himself being a priest, and infirm too by reason of age, retired to his own lodging. Some think he did this, to upbraid the unseasonable pride of the chancellor, who, when he ought to have been a promoter of peace, flew armed up and down like a fire-brand of sedition. Douglas, seeing there were no hopes of agreement, exhorted his men rather to die valiantly, than, like dastardly cowards, to hide themselves in their lodgings, from whence, to be sure, they would soon be plucked out by the ears to their deaths; for their enemies had so stopped up all the avenues and passages, that not a man of them could get out of the city. All that were then present assented to what he had spoken; and straight he and his party, having buckled on their armour, seized upon the broadest street in all the town. He had about fourscore in his train, but all stout resolute men, and of known valour. They divided and posted themselves in the most convenient places, and so set upon their enemies as they came out of several narrow alleys at once; the first they slew, and drove the rest back headlong, tumbling one upon another in great disorder and confusion. The earl of Arran, who commanded the opposite party, with his son James, got to a ford, and made their escape by the north-loch; the rest ran several ways for shelter, to the convent of the Dominicans. Whilst these things were in agitation there was a mighty combustion all over the town, and, in the midst of the bustle, William, Angus's brother, enters the city with a great party of his clan. When Douglas had got this accession to his former strength, though there were abundance of his enemies in the town, yet he made proclamation by a trumpeter, That none should dare to appear in the streets with arms about them, but his friends and party. Those that desired passes, to depart quietly, had them easily granted, There went out in one company about 800 horse, besides those who had taken their flight before, with greater ignominy than loss; for there fell not above 72, but among them were men of note, as the brother of the earl of Arran, and Eglinton's son. This happened on the 30th day of April, 1520. In order to revenge this

disgrace, the Hamiltons besieged Kilmarnock, a castle in Cunningham; Robert Boyd, a friend of the Douglasses, commanded it; but they soon left it, without effecting any thing. The next year Douglas came to Edinburgh, on the 20th of July, bringing with him the Humes, who had been banished; and there he took down the heads of Alexander and William Hume, which had been set up on poles. The whole five years that the regent was absent, were very full of tumults; there was no end of pillaging and killing till his return, which was on October 30th, 1521. Upon his arrival, he resolved to curb the power of the Douglasses, in order to the quieting of all such seditions as had happened in his absence. He sent the earl of Angus, head of that family, into France; he caused the pope to call over his uncle, the bishop of Dunkeld, to Rome, to purge himself there of some crimes imputed to him; who, the year after, in his journey to Rome, fell sick of the plague in London, and died. His virtues were such, that he was very much lamented; for, besides the splendor of his ancestry, and the comeliness of his person, he was master of a great deal of learning, as times went then; and being also a man of high prudence, and singular moderation, in troublesome times, he was much esteemed in point of faithfulness and authority, even by the contrary factions. He left behind him considerable monuments of his ingenuity and learning, written in his mother-tongue. The next year after the return of the regent, a parliament was held, and an army levied, appointed to rendezvous at Edinburgh, on a set day; whither they came accordingly, and pitched their tents in the fields near Roslin, none knowing upon what service they were to be employed: but at last an herald proclaimed that they were to march towards Annandale, and that a great punishment was appointed for such who refused to obey the orders. The rest of the army marched obediently enough to the river Solway, the boundary of Scotland; only Alexander Gordon and his party staid behind three miles farther from England. When the regent heard of it, he came back to him the next day, and brought him up to the camp: there called he the nobles and chief commanders together, and shewed them many great and weighty reasons why he invaded England on that side. But a great part of the nobility, by the instigation of Gordon, who was their senior, and of greater authority than all of them, wholly refused to set foot on English ground; either out of disaffection to the regent, or else, as they pretended, that it was not for the interest of Scotland so to do: the specious pretences spread abroad amongst the soldiers, pleased them well enough. For if they had levied an army in favour of the French, to hinder the English from sending their whole strength against France, it was sufficient for that purpose only to make a shew of war; but if the interest

of Scotland was considered, matters not being well settled at home, and their king but a child; it was most advisable for them at that juncture, only to be on the defensive, and to maintain their ancient bounds; for if they should march forward, the blame even of fortuitous miscarriage might be laid to their charge, and an account of their misconduct might be required at their hands, in a very short time. Lastly, though they were never so willing to march forward against the enemy, and so to slight the common danger, as well as to overlook their own concerns at home, yet they were afraid the Scots would not be obedient to command in an enemy's country. Great heed therefore was to be taken, lest, through ambition, or emulation, or late disgusts, they should come off with dishonour. The regent, perceiving it in vain to oppose, was forced to yield; yet, that he might not seem to have acted a mere piece of pageantry, after such vast preparations, in marching his army as far as the Solway, he underhand procured a fit and proper person, who had frequent negotiations in England, to acquaint Dacres, then lord warden of the English marches, that some good might be done if he treated with John, the Scots' regent. He willingly hearkened to the proposal, because he was unprovided for defence; never imagining that the Scots would have made an irruption into England, at least on that side. Accordingly, he sent an herald, and obtained a passport to come with safety into the Scots' camp. The next day, accompanied with Thomas Dacres and Thomas Musgrave, and about eighteen more cavaliers, he came to the regent's tent, where they had private discourse together, each having his interpreter. Dacres, being taken unprovided, was glad to be quiet, and the regent, not being able to effect any thing without the consent of the army, clapped up a truce; and an hopeful introduction to a peace was made, and so they parted. Those of the Scots who were the greatest hinderances of the action, to throw off the blame from themselves, spread abroad reports, that Dacres had bought a peace of the regent for a sum of money, of which, part was in hand paid, the rest promised, but never paid. Thus they endeavoured to disparage the conference amongst the vulgar.

The regent went again, on the 25th of October, into France, but promised to return before the first of August next ensuing; yet he kept not his day, because he was informed that the English had a fleet ready to intercept his passage: However, he sent 500 French foot, in the month of June, to encourage the Scots with hope of his speedy return. They never saw the face of an enemy in all their voyage, till they came near the isle of May, which is situate on the frith of Forth, where they fell among the English ships, which lay in the straits, to stop their passage. They had a sharp fight, and the French boarded their enemies ships, but with

the loss of their admiral. When he was slain, the seamen would not obey the captains of the foot; and the land soldiers, being ignorant of sea affairs, could not command the mariners; so that, after a great slaughter of the English, the French could scarce be forced back in their own ships.

In the absence of the regent, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, was sent from England with ten thousand men, and a great many recruits, into Scotland: His advantage was, that the Scots were at discord amongst themselves; their chief magistrate absent, and they under no certain command; so that he marched over March and Teviotdale, and took the castles of both shires, to the great loss of the nobles, and of the commons too, who used, upon sudden invasions, to secure themselves and their goods in those forts. But Scotland did then labour under such intestine discords, that no man thought his neighbour's calamity did at all belong to him. The English marched up and down for several months, where they pleased, without any opposition; and when, at length, they retreated, the adjacent Scots endeavoured, in some sort, to revenge themselves for their losses; and accordingly, daily incursions were made by them into Northumberland, and great booties taken out of that country: so that Howard was sent against them a second time; who took Jedburgh, (a town unfortified, as the Scots custom is), but it cost him great pains, and loss of men. Whilst these things were acting in Teviotdale, the horses of the English army were so terrified in the night, (it is not known upon what occasion) that above 500 of them broke their bridles, running up and down the camp, and overturning all that were in their way: Some of the soldiers they trampled down and trode upon; and then ran out into the open field, as if they had been mad, and so became a prey to such of the country Scots as could take them up. This caused a great consternation through the whole camp, all crying out, *Arm, Arm*: neither could the tumult be appeased, till the next morning. Three days after, the English, without making any further attempt, disbanded their army, and returned home.

The duke of Albany, knowing that all the ports on the French shore were way-laid by the English, to intercept him in his return, being inferior in strength, resolved to work it by stratagem. He brought not his navy together in any one port, but kept it dispersed in several harbours, (here one ship, there another) that there was no appearance at all of any warlike preparation: And besides, he quartered his soldiers in the inland country, that nobody could imagine he designed to ship them; so that the admiral of the English fleet, who waited to disturb his passage till the 13th of August, was weary of roving up and down in the sea any longer to no purpose; and understanding by his spies, that there was nei-

ther fleet nor army on all the French coasts, he withdrew his fleet, as supposing John would not stir till the next spring. The duke of Albany, being informed of the departure of the English, presently drew together his navy of 50 ships, aboard of which were 3000 foot, and 1000 cuirassiers; and so, after the autumnal equinox, he set sail from France, and, by the 24th of September, arrived at the isle of Arran in Scotland; which happened to be the same day on which the English burned Jedburgh.

I shewed before, how miserable the state of affairs in Scotland was, the last summer. The nobles were at variance one with another; the English wasted all the countries near them; they were masters of the sea; and consequently all hopes of foreign aid were cut off. The design of the enemy in this was, to take down the pride of the Scots, and, by sufferings, to incline them to a pacification: Neither were those Scots that were averse to the French faction, less zealous for a perpetual peace with England: of which the queen was the chief. For, when Hume was removed by death, and Douglas by banishment, and the other nobles were judged rather fit to follow, than lead, in the management of matters; all those that were not favourers of the French interest, applied themselves to the queen. She, to gratify her brother, and also to draw the power into her own hands, dissembled her private ambition, and exhorted them, saying, *That now was the time to free their young king, who was almost of age, from the bondage of a stranger; and also to deliver themselves from the same yoke.* For the queen now laboured to strengthen her party against her husband, against whom she, long before, began to have a great disgust: Besides, the king of England sent frequent letters, filled with large promises to the nobles of Scotland, desiring them to promote his sister's designs. He told them, "It was not his fault, that there
 " was not a perpetual amity between the two neighbouring king-
 " doms; which has always, so especially at this time, he did very
 " much desire; not for any private end of his own, but to make
 " it appear that he bore a true respect to his sister's son, whom
 " he resolved to support and gratify, as much as ever he was
 " able: And if the Scots would be persuaded to break their league
 " with France, and to join with England, they should quickly find
 " his aim was not ambition nor power, but only love and con-
 " cord: That Mary his only daughter being married to James, the
 " Scots would not, by that affinity, come over to the government
 " of the English, but the English to that of the Scots: That en-
 " mities as great as theirs, had intervened betwixt nations hereto-
 " fore, which yet by alliance, mutual commerce, and interchange-
 " able kindnesses, had been wholly abolished and extinguished." Others reckoned up the advantages, or inconveniencies, which might accrue to either nation, by this union with each other, ra-

ther than with the French: As, that “ they were one people, born
“ in the same island; brought up under the same climate; agree-
“ able one to another in their language, manners, laws, customs,
“ countenance, colour, and in the very make of their bodies; so
“ that they seemed rather to be *one* nation than *two*: But as for
“ the French they differed from them, not only in climate and soil,
“ but also in the whole manner of their life: Besides if France was
“ an enemy, she could do no great damage to Scotland; and if a
“ friend, yet she could not be highly advantageous: As for the
“ assistance of England, that was near at hand; but French aid
“ was much remote; there was no passage for it but by sea, and
“ therefore it might be prevented by enemies, or else hindered by
“ storms. They were therefore desired to consider, how incon-
“ venient it was for the management of affairs, and how unsafe
“ for the public, to hang the hopes of their and the kingdom’s
“ safety, upon so inconstant and changeable a thing, as a blast of
“ wind. How much they might expect from absent friends a-
“ gainst present dangers, might be easily perceived by the actions
“ of the last summer, where the Scots not only felt, but even saw
“ with their eyes, how the English ravaged them, being forsaken
“ by their friends, and fell upon them with all their strength, rea-
“ dy to devour them; but the French aid, so long looked for,
“ was kept back by the English navy, in their own harbours.”

These were the allegations for an alliance with England; and
not a few, being convinced by them, were inclined to it: but o-
thers argued to the contrary: for the greatest part of that assembly
the French had bribed; and some who had been great gainers by
the public losses, abhorred the very thoughts of peace. There were
others who suspected the readiness and facility of the English in
making such large promises, especially since matters in England
were managed, for the most part, at the will and pleasure of Tho-
mas Wolsey, a cardinal, a man wicked and ambitious, who laid
all his designs for his own private advantage, and for the enlarge-
ment of his power and authority; and therefore he accommodated
them to every turn of the wheel of fortune. All these equally fa-
voured the league with France, though induced to the same end
by different motives. They alleged, that the sudden liberality of
the English was not free and gratuitous, but done out of design;
and that this was not the first time, that they had used such arts
to entrap the unwary Scots: For Edward I. (said they) when he
had sworn and obliged himself, by all the bonds of law and equi-
ty, to decide any thing in dispute, and therefore was chosen ar-
bitrator by the Scots, had most injuriously made himself king of
Scotland: And of late, Edward IV. had betrothed his daughter
Cecily to the son of James III. but when the young lady grew up
to be marriageable, and the day of consummation just upon the

point of being fixed, he took the opportunity of a war, which arose upon the account of our private discords, to break off the match: And that the English king aimed at nothing else now, but to cast the tempting bait of dominion before them, that so he might make them really slaves; and, when they were destitute of foreign aid, might surprize them at his pleasure with all his force. Neither was that position a true one, wherein the contrary party prided themselves, *That an alliance near at hand was better than one farther off*; for causes of dissension would never be wanting among those who were neighbours; which were oftentimes produced even by sudden chances, and sometimes great men would promote them upon every light occasion; and then the laws of concord would be prescribed by him who should have the longest sword. That there was never such a firm and sacred bond of friendship between neighbouring kingdoms, which, when occasions offered, or were sought for, was not often violated; neither could we hope, that the English would more refrain now from violating us, than they formerly spared so many kings of their own: It is true, the sanctity of leagues, and the religion of an oath, for the faithful performance of pacts and agreements, are firm bonds to good men; but amongst those who are bad, they are as so many snares and gins, and give only opportunity to deceive; and such opportunity is most visible in a propinquity of borders and habitations, in the agreement of language, and in the similitude of manners. But if all these things were otherwise, yet (proceed they) there are two things to be regarded and provided for: First, that we reject not our old friends, even without an hearing, who have so often deserved well of us. The other, that we do not here spend our time in quarrels and disputes, especially about a business which cannot be determined but in an assembly of all the estates of the kingdom. Thus stood the inclinations of those of the French faction; and so they obtained, that no determinations should be made, till they received certain news of the French supply.

When the return of the regent was made known, it mightily rejoiced his friends, strengthened the wavering, and kept back many, who favoured the league with England, from complying with it. He sent his warlike provisions up the river Clyde to Glasgow, and there mustered his army. He also published a proclamation, that the nobility should attend him at Edinburgh, where he made an elegant speech to them, commending their constancy in maintaining their ancient league, and their prudence in rejecting the perfidious promises of the English. He highly extolled the good-will, love, and liberality of Francis, the French king, towards the Scots; and exhorted them to lay aside their private animosities and feuds; and, seeing foreign aid was come in

to them, to revenge their wrongs, and to repress the insolence of their enemy by some notable blow. Accordingly, after his soldiers had refreshed themselves, and the Scots forces had joined them, he marched towards the borders, whither he came the 22d of October. But being about to enter England, and having already sent part of his forces over a wooden bridge, which was at Mulross, the Scots made the same excuses as they did in the former expedition at Solway, and refused to enter England; so that he was forced to recal that party which he had commanded over; and pitching his tents a little below, on the left side of the Tweed, endeavoured to storm the castle of Werk, situated over against him, on the right side of the river. In the mean time a party of horse sent over the river, beset all passages, that no relief could come to the besieged. They also carried fire and sword round all the country thereabouts. The description of Werk castle is this: In the inner court of it there is a very high tower well fortified; it is compassed with a double wall. The outward wall encloses a large space of ground, whither the country people were wont to fly in time of war, and to bring their corn and cattle with them for safeguard. The inner wall is much narrower, but intrenched round about, and better fortified with towers that are built upon it. The French took the outward court by storm, but the English set fire to the barns, and the straw that was in them, which made such a smoke, that they drove them out again. For the next two days they battered the inner wall with their great guns; and, after they had made a breach wide enough for entrance, the French again attempted the matter, and endeavoured to storm it, by means of the breach they had made; but those in the inner castle, which was yet entire, darted down all sorts of weapons upon them, and they lay exposed to every blow. So that, having lost some few of their men, they were beat back to their army, and retreated cross the river. The regent, perceiving that the minds of the Scots were averse to action, and also hearing for certain, that the English were coming against them with a numerous army (their own writers say, no less than 40,000 fighting men; and besides, that 6000 more were left to defend Berwick, a neighbouring town), the 11th of November, removed his camp to a nunnery called Eccles, about six miles distant from his present encampment; thence, at the third watch, he marched by night to Lauder. Both horse and man were much incommoded in their march, by the sudden fall of a great snow. The same storm occasioned the English also to disband and return home, without effecting any thing. The rest of the winter was quiet enough.

At spring, the regent, in an assembly of the nobles, told them the causes why he must needs go again into France, but he promised them to return before the first of September next following.

And he further desired them, that, during his absence, the king might remain at Stirling; and that they would make no peace or truce with the English before his return; as also, that they would make no innovations on the government. They promised him faithfully to obey his commands: and thus, on the 20th of May, he and his retinue set sail for France. In his absence, the reins were let loose, every man's will was his law, and a great deal of havock was made, and mischief done, without any punishment at all. Upon this the king, though but a child, by the advice of his mother, and the earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and many other of the prime nobility, came from Stirling to Edinburgh; and, on the 29th of July, by the counsel of his nobles, whom he had convened at his palace of Holyrood-house, he took upon him the government of the kingdom; and, the next day, caused them all to swear fealty to him a second time. And, to shew that he had actually assumed the administration of matters into his own hands, he discharged all public officers; but, a few days after, he restored them to their places again.

In a great assembly of the nobles held on the 20th day of August, that the king might vacate the power of the regent, which he had now taken upon himself; he went in great pomp (as the manner is) into the public hall of the town; only the bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen dissented, alleging, that they ought to stay till the first of September, at which time the regent had promised to return; whereupon they were imprisoned. But they revenged themselves with their own church'weapons, and excommunicated all of their dioceses. However, in about a month or two after, they were reconciled to the king, and restored to the same place in his favour, which they had before.

About the same time Archibald Douglas, who, as I said before, was banished into France, sent Simon Penning, an acute man, and much trusted by him, to the king of England, to persuade him to give him the liberty of returning home through his dominions, which was granted. For Henry was well enough pleased at the diminution of the authority of so active a person as the duke of Albany; and at the change which was made in Scotland; so that he entertained the earl courteously, and dismissed him very honourably. His return made very different impressions in the minds of the Scots; for seeing all public business was transacted under the conduct of the queen and the earl of Arran, a great part of the nobility, the heads whereof were John Stewart, earl of Lennox, and Colin Campbell, earl of Argyle, taking great distaste that they were not admitted to any part of the administration, received Douglas with high expressions of joy, as hoping by his aid, either to win over the power of the adverse faction to themselves, or at least to abate their pride. On the other side,

the queen, who, as I said before, was disaffected towards her husband, was much troubled at his coming, and sought by all means to undermine him. Moreover Hamilton, who felt some remains of his old resentment, was none of his fast friends. He feared lest Douglas, who he knew would not be content with a second place, would mount the saddle, and make him truckle under; so that he strove to maintain his own dignity, and opposed him with all his might. They kept themselves within the castle of Edinburgh; and though they knew very well that many of the nobility affected alteration, yet, trusting in the strength of the place, and the authority of the kingly name (though it was but a sorry defence in those circumstances) they thought themselves secure from force. The adverse party had a great meeting of the nobles, where they chose three of their own party to be guardians of the king and kingdom, Archibald Douglas earl of Angus; John Stuart earl of Lennox; and Colin Campbell earl of Argyle. They made great haste in their business: First, they passed the Forth, and caused James Beton, a prudent man, to join with them, who, perceiving the strength of the party, durst not resist. From thence they went to Stirling, and conferred all offices and employments on the men of their own faction only; and from thence they came to Edinburgh, which they entered without force, for it was not fortified at all. They cast up a small trench against the castle, and besieged it. Those that would have been upon the defensive, had made no provision for a siege, and therefore soon surrendered up both it and themselves. All but the king being sent away, the whole weight of the government lay upon the shoulders of those three associates, who agreed among themselves, that they would manage it by turns, each of them attending four months on the king. But this conjunction was not hearty, neither did it last long. Douglas attended the first four months, who brought the king into the archbishop of St. Andrew's house, and made use of all the bishop's household stuff, and other accommodations, as if they had been his own (for he had a little before revolted from their faction); and, to engage the king to him the more, he let him take his fill of all unwarrantable pleasures, and yet he obtained not his end neither, in regard the king's domestics were corrupted by the adverse faction, headed by the queen and Hamilton.

The first animosities at court broke forth upon the account of distributing ecclesiastical preferments; for the Douglasses drew all to themselves; George Crichton was translated to the bishoprick of Dunkeld. The abbey of Holyrood in the suburbs, which was left by him, Douglas gave to his brother William, who had now for five years forcibly held that of Coldingham, about six miles from Berwick, from the time of the murder of Robert

Blackadder, the former abbot. For Patrick Blackadder, Robert's cousin-german, had the abbey bestowed on him by the pope, with the consent of John the regent. He had also commenced a suit against John Hume, an intimate of the earl of Angus's, and husband to his sister's daughter, about the whole ancient estate of the Blackadders. And therefore Patrick, being unable to cope with the Douglasses, suffered his estate to be made a prey to his enemies, and reserved himself for better times, amongst his mother's kindred, far from those counties which were obnoxious to the faction of the Douglasses. They, on the other side, though they did not much value Patrick, yet having the supreme power in their hands, and being unwilling to incur the blot of invading other men's rights by mere force, made use of friends to proffer him some kind of amends and satisfaction; he, shewing himself inclinable to an agreement, even though he remitted much of his right, had a pass granted him, and the public faith given him by Douglas, to come to Edinburgh; which he did with a small retinue, and unarmed; and not far from the gates of the city, he was set upon by John Hume, who lay in ambush for that purpose, and so was murdered. As soon as the noise of the fact was spread over the city, many mounted their horses, and pursued the murderers some miles, in order to apprehend them; but perceiving that George Douglas, brother to the earl, was in their company, and many more of Douglas's faction, with the kindred of Hume; not knowing with what intent they were out, whether to catch, or to defend the murderers, they desisted from the pursuit; and this occasioned strange reports to be divulged abroad concerning the Douglasses.

As for Colin Campbell, he had already withdrawn himself from the triumvirate, as we may call it; and the earl of Lennox, though he followed the king, yet in regard the Douglasses got all offices of public advantage into their own hands, he gave many testimonies of his dislike, and palpable proof that his mind was quite alienated from them. But they, being confident of their power, slighted the reports and ill-will of others. Mean while the king, though he were used more indulgently than was fit, that so his infirm spirit might be the longer in subjection to them; yet notwithstanding by little and little grew weary of their government, being also weaned from them by his domestics, who laid to their charge actions, some true, some false, and interpreted the doubtful in the worst sense; upon which he secretly communicated with such as he could trust, about vindicating himself into his freedom and liberty. The only man of his nobles, to whom he opened his mind without reserve, was John earl of Lennox, who, besides his other virtues of mind and body, was an honest and fine-spoken man, and excellently composed to reconcile and win

upon the souls of men, by a natural sweetness of manners and deportment. Him he made privy to his design; and whilst they were consulting about the time, place, and manner of its accomplishment, Douglas was making many expeditions against the bands of robbers, but with no great success. At length, about the end of July, he resolved to carry the king into Teviotdale, as supposing that his presence would be advantageous, by striking a terror into the licentious. Here an assembly being held at Jedburgh, the king called together all the heads of the chief families round about, and commanded them to apprehend those criminals, every one within his own precinct, of which he then gave them a list. They industriously obeyed his command; so that many of the thieves paid their heads as the price of their robberies; and others were spared in hopes of amendment. Thus, whilst the minds of all were very merry, they who had a design to free the king from the guardianship of the Douglasses, thought this a good opportunity to effect it; because one Walter Scot, living not far from Jedburgh, had great clanships in the counties thereabouts. The manner of accomplishing their project was thus laid; Walter was to invite the king to his house, and there he was to remain with him as at his own royal pleasure, till, the report spreading abroad, greater forces came in. But their design seemed to be discovered, either by chance, or upon some private intimation; the king being carried back to Mulross. Yet Walter was not discouraged, but proceeded on straight on his journey to the king. When he was but a little way off, an alarm was brought to the Douglasses, that Walter was at hand, well armed himself, and a great troop of armed men accompanying him; so that there was no doubt to be made, but he being a factious man, and withal good at his weapon, intended some mischief; insomuch that they all presently ran to their arms. Douglas, though inferior in number, yet knowing that the men he had of his own were choice ones; and besides, that he had several valiant persons of the family of the Kers and Humes in his train, with George Hume and Andrew Ker, their principals, resolved to put it to a battle. In that very juncture, George Hume had like to have spoiled all, who, when Douglas commanded him to alight from his horse, and manage his part in the fight, answered, he would alight if the king himself commanded him. They fought eagerly and courageously on both sides, as men who had their king (the price of the combat) their spectator. John Stuart stood near the king, without striking a stroke, only as a spectator of the fight.

After a sharp encounter, Walter was wounded, and then his men gave ground. But the joy of the Douglasses victory was much allayed by the loss of Andrew Ker, who, for his singular virtues, was very much lamented by both parties. Upon the ac-

count of his being slain, there ensued a long feud between the families of the Kers and the Scots, which was not ended without blood. From that time forward, John Stuart, who carried himself as a neuter in the fight, being before suspected by the Douglasses, was now accounted their open enemy; so that he departed from the court. These things were acted July 23d, in the year 1521.

The Douglassians, perceiving themselves subject to the envy of whole multitudes, endeavoured to confirm the strength of their faction by new recruits and converts, and therefore they made up the old breach between them and the Hamiltons, a family great in wealth, in power, and in its numbers. These, long since removed from court, he not only admitted, but invited to take a share of the government. On the other side, John Stuart had the advantage of being highly favoured by most people; and, having privately obtained the king's letters to the chief of the nobility, who, he thought, would have kept his counsel, he mightily strengthened his party. And therefore, in a convention of his faction at Stirling, where were also present James Beton, some other bishops, and many heads of the noblest families, he propounded to them the design of asserting the king's liberty. This was unanimously agreed to; and though the day for mustering their forces was not yet come, however, hearing that the Hamiltons were gathered together at Linlithgow, to intercept their march, he judged it most advisable to attack them before they joined with the Douglasses; and accordingly, with the present force which he had, he marched directly towards them. But the Hamiltons, having intelligence that John would march out of Stirling on that day, and very early in the morning, took care beforehand to call the Douglassians out of Edinburgh to their assistance. But the king, besides other obstacles, retarded them in some measure by pretending himself *not well*; so that he rose later out of his bed that day than ordinary; and besides he marched very slowly, and upon the way would often turn aside merely to cause delay, upon pretence of illness. And when George Douglas had in vain, by fine speeches and flatteries, tried to persuade him to make more haste, at last he broke forth into this menacing expression: *Sir, said he, rather than our enemies should take you from us, we will lay hold on your body, and, if it be rent in pieces, we will be sure to take one part of it.* Those words struck a deeper impression on the king's mind, than is usual in one of his age; insomuch, that many years after, when he had some inclination to recal the rest of the Douglasses, at that time exiles, he could not endure to hear any body speak of a reconciliation with George. The Hamiltons, betwixt the fear of the enemy approaching, and the hope of aids at hand, had set them-

selves in array at the bridge of the river Avon, which is above a mile from Linlithgow: They placed a small guard at the bridge, and the rest of their forces on the brow of the hills, which they knew the enemy must pass. Lennox, seeing that his passage over the bridge was stopped, commanded his men to pass over a small river a little above, by a nunnery called Manuel, and so to beat the Hamiltons from the hills, before Douglas's forces had joined them. Lennox's people made towards their enemies, through thick and thin, as we say, but they were much prejudiced by abundance of stones which they rolled down from the hills upon them; and, when they came hand to hand, the word was given, that the Douglasses were very near, and indeed they ran hastily from their march into the fight, and soon carried the day, so that Lennox's men were most grievously assaulted, and put to flight. The Hamiltons, especially James the bastard, used their victory with a great deal of cruelty: William Cunningham, son to the earl of Glencairn, received many wounds, but his life was saved by the Douglasses, his kinsmen: John Stuart was killed, much lamented by the earl of Arran, his uncle, and also by Douglas himself, but most of all by the king: for he had sent Andrew Wood, of the Largs, his favourite, before, as soon as ever he heard of the fight, by the clashing of the armour, to save Lennox's life, if possible; but, as it happened, unluckily he came too late, when the business was done and all over.

After this victory, the Douglasses, to keep down the faction of their enemies, and make them subject to their will, proceeded in the law against those who had taken up arms against the king, as they phrased it; so that, for fear of a trial, many were forced to compound with them for money; some put themselves into the clanship of the Hamiltons, others into that of the Douglasses; but the most obstinate were called to the bar; amongst whom was Gilbert, earl of Cassils, who, when he was pressed by James Hamilton, the bastard, to place himself under the protection of the Hamiltons, out of the greatness of his spirit made this answer, *That there was an old league of friendship made between both their grandfathers; in which his grandfather was always named first, as the more honourable: and that he would not now so far degenerate from the dignity of his family, or the glory of his ancestors, as to put himself under the patronage (which was but one degree from plain slavery) of that family, whose chief, in an equal alliance, was always content with the second place.* So that when Gilbert was called to his answer at a day appointed, Hugh Kennedy, his kinsman, made answer for him, 'That he had not taken up arms against the king, but for him; for he was commanded to be at that fight; and, if it should be needful, he proffered to

produce the king's letters to that purpose. The Hamiltons were much troubled at his boldness; for indeed the king had wrote to Gilbert, when he came from court, as well as to others, That he should take part with John Stuart: but, seeing the battle was at hand, insomuch that he could have no time to call together his clanship and kindred, as he was upon the way, he turned aside, with those of his family that were with him, to Stirling.

The violence of the Hamiltons was somewhat abated by this trial; but James the bastard, fired with a mortal hatred against Kennedy, a few days after, as he was returning home, he caused him to be murdered on the way, by means of Hugh Campbell, laird of Ayr. This Hugh, the same day the murder was committed, (which he had commanded his vassals to execute, that so he might avert all suspicion of so horrid a fact from himself) went to John Erskine's house, whose wife was sister to Gilbert Kennedy's wife: she as soon as ever she heard of this cruel murder, ceased not to upbraid him with it to his very face, and that in a most grievous manner. Thus the noble family of the Kennedys was almost quite extinguished. The son of the earl, after his father was slain, being but a child, fled to his kinsman, Archibald Douglas, who was then lord treasurer, and put himself and his family under his protection. He received him very lovingly; and such was the great ingenuity of his promising years, that he designed him for his son-in-law. Hugh Campbell was summoned to appear, but his crime being too plain, he made his escape out of the kingdom. Neither did the Douglasses exercise their revenge and hatred less fiercely upon James Beton; for they led their forces to St. Andrews, seized upon, pillaged, and ruined his castle. Because they counted him the author of all the projects the earl of Lennox had undertaken; but he himself went under frequent disguises, because no man durst entertain him openly, and so escaped. And the queen herself made her retirement with the like kind of dissimulation and secrecy, that so she might not fall into the hands of her husband, whom she detested and abhorred.

At the beginning of the spring following, Douglas made an expedition into Lidsdale, where he slew many of the thieves, falling upon them unawares in their huts, before they could put themselves in order for a defence. Twelve of them he hanged up, and twelve more he kept as hostages; but because their relations did not forbear their old trade of robbing, a few months after he even put them to death. At his entrance on that expedition, there happened a matter very remarkable, which, for the novelty of the thing, I shall not pass by. There was an undergroom, or helper, belonging to the stables of John Stuart, of mean descent, and therefore used in a mean employment, to dress

horses; when his lord and master was killed by the Hamiltons, he wandered up and down for a time, not knowing what course to take; at last he took heart, and resolved to attempt a fact far superior to the rank and condition he had been born and brought up in. For he undertook a journey to Edinburgh, with an intent to revenge the death of his lord who was slain; and there he casually met with a man of the same family and fortune with himself; he demanded of him whether he had seen James Hamilton the bastard, in the city; who answered him he had: *What, said he, thou most ungrateful of men, hast thou seen him, and wouldst thou not kill him, who slew so good a master as we both had? Go, get thee gone, and may misery be thy companion.* This said, he presently hastened on his designed journey, and went directly to court. There were then in a large court, which is before the palace in the suburbs, about 2000 armed men of Douglas's and Hamilton's dependents, ready prepared for the expedition I spoke of before; he seeing them, passed by all the rest, and fixed his eye and mind on Hamilton only, who was then coming out of the court-yard in his cloak, without his armour; when he saw him in a pretty long gallery, and somewhat dark, which is over the gate, he flew at him, and gave him six wounds; one of them almost pierced to his vitals, but as for the others, he pretty well avoided them by the winding and turning of his body, and by warding them off with his cloak, which he held before him. This done, the groom presently mixed himself amongst the crowd. Immediately a great clamour began, and some of the Hamiltons suspected that the Douglasses had done so horrid a fact, upon account of their old grudges; so that those two factions had almost like to have gone together by the ears. At last, when their fear and surprize was allayed, they were all commanded to stand in single ranks, by the walls which were round about the court-yard; there the murderer was discovered, as yet holding the bloody knife in his hand. Being demanded what he was, and whence, and for what he came thither? he made no ready answer: upon which he was dragged to prison, and put to the rack; and then he confessed immediately, that he had undertaken the fact, in revenge of his good lord and master, and that he was sorry for nothing, but that so famous an attempt did not take effect. He was tortured a long time, but discovered nobody as privy to his design. At last he was condemned, and carried up and down the city, and every part of his naked body was nipped with iron pincers, red-hot, and yet neither in his speech, nor in his countenance, did he discover the least sense of pain: when his right-hand was cut off, he said, that it was punished less than it had deserved, because it had not obeyed the dictates of his mind, which was so eager to have executed the bloody purpose.

Moreover, the same year, Patrick Hamilton, son of a sister of John duke of Albany, and of a brother of the earl of Arran, a young man of great judgment and singular learning, by a conspiracy of the priests was burned at St. Andrews: and not long after his suffering, men were much terrified at the death of Alexander Campbell. He was of the order of the Dominicans; a man also of good ingenuity, and accounted one of the most learned of all those who followed the sect of Thomas Aquinas. Patrick had frequent conferences with Alexander concerning the meaning of the holy scripture, and at last he brought the man to confess and acknowledge, that almost all the articles, which were then counted orthodox, were really true. And yet this Alexander, being more desirous to save his life, than to hazard it for truth's sake, was persuaded by his friends to prefer a public accusation and charge against him. Patrick, being a man of a zealous spirit, could not brook this desire of vain-glory in the ambitious man, but broke forth into this expression openly; *O! thou vilest of men, says he, who art convinced that the tenets which thou now condemnest, are most certainly true, and didst confess to me that they are so: I cite thee to the tribunal of the living God.* Alexander was so astonished at that word, that he was never himself from that day forward; and not long after, he died in a fit of madness.

All this time, and for a great part of the year ensuing, the Douglasses, being severally intent upon other matters, were secure as to the king's departure from them; because they believed, that now his mind was fully reconciled to them by those immoderate pleasures they had indulged him in; and besides they thought if he had a mind to remove, there was no faction strong enough to oppose them; neither was there any strong garrison to which he could retire, but only Stirling castle, which was allotted to the queen for her habitation; but then it was deserted for a time by the queen's officers, when she hid herself from the Douglasses; and when the tumult was a little appeased, it was somewhat fortified, rather for a shew than for any defence. The king, having obtained some small relaxation, saw that this must be his only refuge; and therefore he bargained with his mother privately, to exchange that castle, and the land adjoining, for other lands as convenient for her; and providing all other requisites as secretly as he could, the Douglasses not being so intent as formerly in their watch over him, he retired by night, with a few in his company, from Falkland to Stirling; whither he soon sent for many of his nobles to come to him, and others hearing the news, came in of their own accord; so that now he seemed sufficiently secured against all force. There, by the advice of his nobles, he published a proclamation, that the Douglasses should abstain from all

administration of public affairs: and, moreover, that none of their kin by blood or marriage, or of their dependents, should come within twelve miles of the court; he that did otherwise was to forfeit his life. When the edict was served upon the Douglasses as they were coming to Stirling, many were of opinion, that they should go on their journey; but the earl and his brother George thought it best to obey the edict. Thus they went back to Linlithgow, resolving to stay there till they heard some clearer news from the court. In the mean time the king sent messengers with great diligence, even to the farthest parts of the kingdom, to call in the nobles, who had a privilege of voting, to an assembly at Edinburgh, which was to be held September the 3d next ensuing. In the interim, he at Stirling, and the Douglasses at Edinburgh, gathered forces about them; but it was rather to be upon the defensive than the offensive. At length, July the 2d, the Douglasses departed out of the city, and the king, with his forces and banners displayed, entered into it: but by the mediation of friends, deprecating the king on their behalf, conditions were offered to them, which were, That the earl of Angus should be banished beyond the Spey; that George his brother, and Archibald his uncle, should be kept in hold in the castle of Edinburgh. If they submitted to these terms, then there were hopes of the king's mercy, otherwise not. These terms being rejected by them, they were commanded, by an herald, to attend the parliament that was to be held at Edinburgh the 3d of September. In the mean time, their public offices were taken from them, and Gavin Dunbar, lately the king's tutor, was made chancellor instead of the earl. He was a good and learned man, but some thought him a little defective in politics. And Robert Carncross was made treasurer, in the place of Archibald, a man more known for his wealth, than his virtue.

The Douglasses being now driven to their last shifts, endeavoured to sieze upon Edinburgh, which was left naked at the king's departure; and accordingly they sent Archibald thither, with some troops of horse. Their design was to keep out the king, and so to dissolve the parliament: but (on the 26th day of August) Robert Maxwell with his vassals, and a great number of all sorts of people, by the king's command prevented them, and kept them from entering the city: nay, the guards and centinels were mounted and disposed so carefully in all convenient places, that things were kept there in great tranquillity, till the parliament's time of meeting. Douglas being disappointed of this hope, retired to his castle of Tantallan, about fourteen miles distant from the city. The same day that the king came out of Stirling, there fell such mighty showers of rain from the heavens, and the brooks and ri-

vers did so overflow their banks, that the king's retinue was scattered in many parties, so that they came much harassed and late in the night to Edinburgh. They were so mightily battered with the violence of the storm, that a very few horse, if they had charged upon them, might have done them a great deal of mischief. In that parliament, the earl of Angus, George his brother, Archibald his uncle, and Alexander Drummond of Carnock (their intimate friend) were outlawed, and their goods confiscated. This edict or clause was also added to their condemnation, That whosoever should harbour them in their houses, or give them any other assistance, should incur the same punishment. That which most of all moved the court to condemn them, was this; the king had affirmed (it seems) upon oath, That as long as he was in the power of the Douglasses, he was afraid of his life. He also professed, that his fear was mightily increased, and sunk with a deeper impression into his mind, after George had given him such dreadful menaces, as I mentioned above. There was only one man found in this assembly, by name John Bannatine, a vassal of the Douglasses, who was so bold as to make a public protestation against all that was acted in opposition to the earl, because (as he alleged) his non-appearance at the day limited was occasioned by having just fear.

A few days after, William, another brother of the earl's, abbot of the monastery of Holyrood, died of sickness, trouble of mind and grief, for the present posture of affairs. Robert Carnecross, one meanly descended, but a wealthy man, bought that preferment of the king, who then wanted money, eluding the law against simony by a new kind of fraud. The law was, That ecclesiastical preferments should not be sold; but he laid a great wager with the king, that he would not bestow upon him the next preferment of that kind that fell; and by that means lost his wager, but got the abbey. Thus the Douglasses, seeing that all hope of pardon was cut off, betook themselves to open force, and to the only comfort they had left, which was in revenge; for they used great extremity, and committed all sorts of outrages upon the lands of their enemies; they burned Cousland and Cranston, and rode every day before the gates of Edinburgh, so that the city was almost besieged, and the innocent poor were made to suffer for the offences of the great ones. During these commotions, on the 21st of November, a ship, called the *Martina*, a large vessel in those days, and richly laden, by stress of weather was forced upon the shore of Inverwick: Part of the lading was pillaged by Douglas's horse, who ranged up and down in those parts: the rest was taken away by the countrymen, who were so ignorant of the price of it, that they thought the cinnamon in it to be but a low-priced bark, and so sold it to make fire with; yet the whole envy of the

matter fell upon the Douglasses. Upon this change of affairs, the robbers, who had a long time refrained their depredations, for fear of punishment, came out of the places in which they had absconded, and grievously infested all the circumjacent countries. And though many pranks were played by others up and down, yet all the murders and robberies, every where committed, were charged down to the score of the Douglasses, by those courtiers, who thought they humoured the king in so doing; by which means they thought to make the name of that family, which was otherwise popular, invidious to the vulgar. In the beginning of winter, the king marched to Tantallan, a castle of the Douglasses by the sea-side, in order to take it, that so no refuge at all might be left for the exiles; and, that he might take the place with less labour and cost, he was supplied with brass guns and powder from Dunbar. That castle was distant from Dunbar six miles, and it was garrisoned by the soldiers of John the regent, because it was part of his patrimony. He continued the siege for some days, wherein some of the besiegers were slain, others wounded, and some blown up with gun-powder; but none at all of the besieged were lost: so that he raised the siege, and retreated. In his return, David Falkener, who was left behind with some soldiers, to carry back the brass ordinance, was set upon and killed by Douglas's horse, who were sent out to surprize the stragglers in the rear. His death did so enrage the young king, who was incensed enough before, that he solemnly swore in his passion, that as long as he lived, the Douglasses should never have the sentence of their banishment revoked. And, as soon as he came to Edinburgh, to straiten them the more, by advice of his council, he ordered, that a party of soldiers should be continually kept at Coldingham, which was to be rather an active, or flying, than a numerous one, to prevent their pillaging the country. Bothwell, one of the greatest persons of authority and puissance in Lothian, was appointed by the king to take that post upon him: but he refused the employment; either dreading the power of the Douglasses, which, not long since, all the rest of Scotland was not able to cope with; or else because he would not have the disposition of the young king, who was eager and over-violent of his own accord, to be inured to such cruelty, as totally to destroy so noble a family. And whereas the king had no great confidence in the Hamiltons, as being friends to his enemies, and was also offended at them upon the account of the slaughter of John Stuart, earl of Lennox; and besides, there being none of the nobility of the adjacent parts, that had power or interest enough for that service; at last he resolved to send Colin Campbell with an army against the rebels, a person living in the further parts of the kingdom, but a prudent man, of approved valour, and upon the account of his

justice, very popular. The Douglasses, when the Hamiltons and the rest of their friends failed them, were reduced to great straits; so that they were compelled by Colin, and by George, chief of the Humes, to retire, like exiles, into England.

In the month of October, two eminent knights came ambassadors from the king of England about a peace; which, tho' earnestly desired by both kings, yet they could scarce find out the way to conclude upon it: For Henry, being upon the point of making war upon Charles the emperor, was willing to leave all safe behind his back; and with the same labour to procure the restitution of the Douglasses. As for James, he very much desired to have Tantallan castle in his power, but his mind was very averse to restore the Douglasses: and for that reason the matter was canvassed to and fro for some days, and no temper for accommodation could be found out. But at last they came to this resolution: That Tantallan castle should be surrendered by the Douglasses, and a truce be granted for five years; and their other demands the king was to promise the granting of, separately under his signet. The castle was surrendered accordingly, but the other demands were not so punctually performed, save only that Alexander Drummond had leave given to return home, for Robert Brittain's sake. For, some months before, James Colvil and Robert Carncross, upon suspicion of their favouring the Douglasses, were removed from court, and their offices bestowed on Robert Brittain, who then was in high favour at court, and had great command there. After this, though matters were not quite settled abroad, (for the English had burnt Arn, a town in Teviotdale, before their ambassadors returned), yet the rest of the year was more quiet; but the insolence of the *banditti* was not quite suppressed. Upon which the king caused William Cockburn of Henderland, and Adam Scot, notorious robbers, to be apprehended at Edinburgh, and for example of terror to the rest, he put them to death. The next year, in the month of March, the king sent James earl of Murray, whom he had made deputy-governor of the whole kingdom, to the borders, there to have a meeting with the earl of Northumberland, in order to settle a peace, and to treat about mutual satisfaction for losses: but a contention arose betwixt them which broke off the conference; the one pleading, That, according to the laws made upon the occasion of the murder of Robert Ker, the congress ought to be in Scotland: the other would have it in England. In the interim, each sent messengers to their several kings, to know their minds in the case.

On the 15th day of April, there was held a council of the nobility; where, after a long debate, which lasted till night, the king ordered, that the earl of Bothwell, Robert Maxwell, Walter

Scot, and Mark Ker, should be committed prisoners to Edinburgh castle. He banished the chief men of March and Teviotdale to other places; suspecting that they privately sowed the seeds of war against England. In July, the king levied about 8000 men, and marched out against the robbers, and quickly pitched his tents by the river Ewse. Not far from thence lived one John Armstrong, chief of one faction of the thieves, who had struck such a fear into all the neighbouring parts, that even the English themselves, for many miles about, bought their peace, by paying him a certain tribute; nay, Maxwell was also afraid of his power, and therefore endeavoured his destruction by all possible ways. This John was enticed by the king's officers to have recourse to the king, which he did, unarmed, with about fifty horse in his company; but neglecting to obtain the king's pass and safe conduct for his security, he fell into an ambush, who brought him to the king, as if he had been taken prisoner by them; so that he and most of his followers had the fate of being hanged. They who were the cause of his death gave out, that he had promised to bring that part of Scotland, for some miles, under the obedience of the English, if he himself might be well considered for that service: but, on the other side, the English were very glad of his death, for it freed them from a dangerous enemy. Six of his surviving companions the king kept as hostages, but in regard their fellows were no way deterred by that, from committing the like insolencies, in a few months they were likewise sent to the gallows, and the king took new hostages of those who staid at home: for the Lidsdale men left their homes, and passed over in troops to England, making daily incursions, and taking a great deal of plunder in the neighbouring parts.

Not long after, the king restored the noblemen to their liberty, having first taken hostages from them: of these, Walter Scot, to gratify the king, killed Robert Johnston, a robber of notorious cruelty among them; which bred a deadly feud between the two families, to the great loss and prejudice of them both.

The next year, which was 1531, there happened a matter very memorable; neither did the obscurity of the author, nor the curiosity of the time which made a strict inquiry into it, abate the admiration of its novelty. One John Scot, a man of no learning, nor of any great experience in business, neither had he a subtil wit of his own, to impose tricks upon men, being cast in a law-suit, and not having ability to pay damages, hid himself some days in the sanctuary of the monastery of Holyrood-house, without eating or drinking any thing at all. When the thing was known and related to the king, he commanded that his apparel should be changed, and diligently searched; and so caused

him to be kept close from all company in the castle of Edinburgh, where every day bread and water were set before him; but he voluntarily abstained from all kind of food for thirty-two days. After that time, as if he had been sufficiently tried, he was brought forth naked into public view, where, the people flocking about him, he made them a long, but sorry speech, in which there was nothing memorable, but that he affirmed he was assisted by the Virgin Mary to fast as long as he himself pleased. This answer savouring of simplicity rather than craft, he was released from his imprisonment, and went to Rome, where he was also imprisoned by pope Clement, until he had fasted long enough to convince him of the miracle. Then they clothed him with the habit that priests say mass in, and gave him a testimonial under the leaden seal, which is of great authority amongst the papists. Upon that he went to Venice, where he also confirmed their belief by his miraculous fasting: and alleging that he was obliged, by a vow he had made, to visit Jerusalem, he received of them fifty ducats of gold for his charges on the way. At his return, he brought back some leaves of palm-trees, and a bag full of stones, which he said were taken out of the pillar which Christ was tied to, when he was scourged. In his way home to Scotland, he passed through London, and mounted the pulpit in St. Paul's church-yard, and, in a great audience of people preached much about the divorce of king Henry from his queen, and of his defection from the see of Rome. His words were bitter and if he had been looked upon above the degree of a simpleton, he must have retracted them again; but being imprisoned, and having abstained from food for almost fifty days together, he was dismissed without farther hurt. When he came back to Scotland, he would have joined with one Thomas Dougherty, who about that time came from Italy, and had built a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, out of the alms which the people had given him; and had got great gain by feigned miracles. But the life of this Thomas was sufficiently known to be very wicked, and the cheats of his pretended miracles were discovered; yet no man durst openly gainsay him, for fear of the bishops, who, by this their new Atlas, sought to prop up the pile of their purgatory, then tottering; and he, to requite them for their courtesy, when any of the richer sort of priests came to the place where he was to say mass, had still one beggar or other ready at hand to counterfeik himself mad, or diseased in body, that so, forsooth, by saying his masses, he might be recovered and healed. But Thomas rejecting John Scot, because he was not willing to admit any other into the partnership of his gain, Scot hired an obscure garret in the suburbs of Edinburgh; and there having erected an altar, and furnished it according to his ability, he set

up his own daughter, a young girl, very beautiful, with wax tapers lighted about her, to be adored, instead of the Virgin Mary. But this way of gain not answering his expectation, he returned to his old course of life, having gained nothing by all his preposterous dissimulation of sanctity, but to let all men know, that he wanted not the will, but ability of an impostor.

At the beginning of the following year, which was 1532, the earl of Bothwell was committed prisoner to Edinburgh castle, January 16th, because he had taken a private journey into England, and there had a secret conference with the earl of Northumberland. Sir James Sandeland, by reason of the great prudence, integrity, and authority which he had among all good men, even beyond his estate and degree, was sent to Hermitage, a castle of Lidsdale, to restrain the incursions of thieves and robbers.

In ancient times, there had been no fixed days, nor any set place appointed for trying pecuniary causes before the judges in Scotland, until John duke of Albany obtained of the pope, that a yearly sum of money, as much as was sufficient to pay a salary to a few judges, should be charged on the ecclesiastical order, and it was to be levied on every one, according to the value of his benefice. Upon this, Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen, made his appeal to the pope, in the behalf of himself and other priests. The controversy held from the 11th of March, to the 24th of April, and then there was a college of judges settled at Edinburgh. At their first sittings, they devised many advantageous projects for the equal distribution of justice; yet the hoped for event did not follow. For, seeing in Scotland there are almost no laws, but decrees of the estates, and many of them too made not for perpetuity, but temporary, and the judges hinder the enacting of laws what they can; the estates of all the subjects were committed to the determination of fifteen men, who were to have a perpetual power, and even a tyrannical government; *for their wills were their laws*. Much severity was now used against the Lutherans, in favour of the pope; and the pope, on the contrary, to gratify a king so well deserving at his hands, gave him the tithes of all parsonages for three years next ensuing.

This year the English perceiving that the state of affairs in Scotland grew every day more quiet than another; but thinking they were destitute of foreign aids, because they themselves had joined with the French against Charles the emperor; they sought out all occasions for a war. In April they made an expedition out of Berwick, and burnt and plundered Coldingham, Douglas, and many other neighbouring towns, where they got a great booty. They had no apparent provocation, neither did they declare war

beforehand. How eager they were upon war, appears by that king's proclamation, soon after published, wherein it was said, *That the garrison of Berwick was provoked by some licentious, contumelious words, which the Scots had let fall.* But the words, mentioned in the proclamation, carry no contumely in them at all. But this cause not seeming just enough for a war, they demanded Canabie, a small village in the borders, with a poor monastery in it, as if it belonged to them, which they never pretended to before; and likewise that the Douglasses might be restored. For the king of England perceiving that his aid was absolutely necessary to the French king, so that he could by no means want it; and also knowing, that he had him fast in a league, wherein the interest of Scotland was not considered, thought it no hard matter to bring the Scots to what conditions he pleased. Moreover, because the emperor was alienated from him by reason of his peace with France, and the divorce of his aunt; and the pope of Rome stirred up wars among all Christian princes, he thought, if he sat still now, he should lose a great opportunity at home, for bringing about desired innovations. The king of Scots, that he might not be unprovided against this storm, by a public proclamation made all over the kingdom, appointed his brother the earl of Murray to be his vicegerent. And, because the borderers of themselves were not able to cope with the English, who had also a great number of hired troops with them, he divided the kingdom into four parts, and commanded each of them to send out the ablest men amongst them with their clans, and provision for forty days. These Scottish forces, thus succeeding one another by turns, made great havock in the towns and castles of those parts, so that the king of England was frustrated in his expectation, since the war was likely to be spun out into a length, and other concerns were to employ his care; and therefore he was willing to hearken to a peace, but had a mind to be sued to for it; for he thought it was not for his honour either to offer it, or to seek it of himself. And therefore it seemed most convenient to transact the matter by the king of France, the common friend to both nations. Accordingly the French king sent his ambassador, Stephen D'Aix, into Scotland, to inquire by whose fault this war was commenced between the two neighbour kings. The king of Scots clearly acquitted himself from being any cause of the war: he also made a complaint to him, how long his ambassadors had been detained in France, without having an answer: and, at the ambassador's departure, he sent letters by him to his master, desiring him to observe the ancient league, which was renewed by John the regent at Rouen. He likewise sent David Beton into France, to answer the calumnies of the English, and besides to treat about the keeping and observing of the old league, and to contract a new

affinity between France and Scotland. He also sent letters by him to the parliament of Paris, very bitter and full of complaints, concerning those matters which had been transacted and agreed between Francis their king, and John regent of Scotland; how that ancient friendship, pacts, and agreements between them were slighted in behalf of those who were once their common enemies. His ambassador Beton was commanded, if he saw that the things he had in commission should not succeed well in France, to deliver those letters to the council of the judges, and presently to withdraw himself into Flanders, with an intent (as it might be conjectured) to make league, agreement, and affinity with the emperor.

At the same time, war was waged in Britain, and debates were managed at Newcastle, concerning the lawfulness of it. When the ambassadors of both nations could not agree on terms of pacification, Monsieur Guy Flower was sent over by the king of France, to compose matters. The Scottish king told him, that he would gratify his master as far as ever he was able: and he had also some communications with him, as much as was seasonable at that time, concerning the conjugal affinity, about which he had sent ambassadors before, which were then in France. Flory, or Flower, being thus the umpire for peace, the garrisons were withdrawn on both sides from the borders, and a truce was made, which was afterwards followed with a peace. The king having, for some years last past, transacted business with the king of France, and with the emperor, by his ambassadors, about a matrimonial contract, and now being freed from other cares, after the peace was settled, bent his thoughts more that way than ever. For besides the common causes which might incline him to some potent alliance, his whole thoughts were turned, how to perpetuate his family by issue of his body, he himself being the last male that was left alive; insomuch that his next heirs had already flattered themselves with very firm hopes of the kingdom; which did not a little trouble him, who was otherwise of his own nature suspicious enough. And indeed, many things very much concurred to nourish them in that hope; as, for instance, their own domestic power; the king's being a bachelor; his being of so adventurous and enterprising a genius; his slighting all danger; so that he would not only stoutly undergo all hazards, but often court and invite them; for with a small party he would march against the fiercest thieves; and though they were superior in number, yet he would either prevent them by his speed, or else frighten and awe them by the sacred power of his name, and so force them to a surrender. He would sit night and day on horseback in this employment; and if he took any refreshment or food, it was that which he lighted on by chance, and but little of that either.

These circumstances made the Hamiltons almost confident of

the succession; yet it seemed to them a long way about to stay for either fortuitous, or natural causes of mortality, and therefore they studied to hasten his death by treachery. A fair opportunity was offered them to effect it by his night-walkings to his misses, having but one or two in his company. But all these things not answering their expectation, they resolved to cut off the hope of lawful issue, by hindering his marriage, what they could; although John duke of Albany, when he was regent, seemed to have made sufficient provision against that inconvenience; for, when he renewed the ancient league between the French and Scots at Rouen, he had inserted one article, that James should marry Francis's eldest daughter. But there were two impediments in the way, which almost cut this league asunder. For Francis being freed out of the hand of the Spaniard, by the industry and diligence principally of Henry VIII, had entered into so strict a league with the English, that the Scottish league was much intrenched upon by it; and besides, the eldest daughter of Francis was deceased a while before; and therefore James desired Magdalene his next daughter to wife, and sent ambassadors over for that purpose; but her father excused the matter, alleging, that his daughter was of so weak a constitution of body, that there were but little hopes of children by her, nor hardly any likelihood of her life itself, for any long time.

About the same time, there was an alliance treated of with Charles the emperor by ambassadors; and at length, the 24th day of April, 1534, the emperor sent Godscalk Erecus, that the matter might be carried with greater secrecy, from Toledo in Spain, through Ireland, to James. After he had declared the commands he had in charge from the emperor, concerning the wrongs offered to his aunt Catharine and her daughter, by king Henry; concerning the calling of a general council; concerning the rooting out the sect of the Lutherans; and about contracting an affinity. The emperor, by his letters, gave the king his choice of three Marys, all of them of his blood; they were, Mary sister to Charles, a widow ever since the death of her husband, Louis of Hungary, who was slain in battle by the Turks; Mary of Portugal, the daughter of his sister Leonora; and Mary of England, his niece by his aunt Catharine. And because Charles knew, that king James was more inclinable to his last match, he likewise shewed a greater propensity to it, that so he might take off James from his valuing of, and adhering to, the league with Francis, and at the same time might set him at odds with Henry. James made answer, that the marriage with England was indeed, in many respects, most advantageous, if it could be obtained; but it was a business of uncertain hope, of great danger and toil, and would be encumbered with so many delays, that his single life, he being the last of his family, could hardly bear it; and therefore of

all Cæsar's nieces, he told him, that the daughter of Christiern king of Denmark was most convenient for him, who was begotten upon Isabel, the sister of Charles. A while after, Charles answered this his demand from Madrid, that she was already promised to another. And though Cæsar, by offering conditions, seemed rather to prolong the matter, than really to intend the accomplishment of it, yet the treaty was not wholly laid aside. Matters being quiet at home, James resolved to go on ship-board, to take a view of all his dominions round about, and to curb the stubborn spirit of the islanders, and make them more obedient. First, he sailed to the Orcades, where he quieted all disorders, by apprehending and imprisoning a few of the nobility. He garrisoned two castles there, his own and the bishop's. Afterwards he visited the rest of the islands, and sent for the chief men to come to him. Those that refused he seized by force. He laid a tax on them, took hostages, and carried away with him those who were most likely to prove incendiaries; and putting some of his own train into their castles, he sent the *leading-men* of them, some to Edinburgh, and some to Dunbar, prisoners: for about that time, John duke of Albany, had surrendered up Dunbar to the king, which till then had been held by a French garrison. In the next month of August, great severity was used against the Lutherans; some were compelled to make a public recantation; others refusing to appear upon summons, were banished. Two were burned, of which one, named David Straiton, was free enough from Lutheranism; but he was accused of it, because he was a little refractory in paying of tithes to the collectors, and so was put to death, only for a supposed crime. In an assembly which the king caused to be convened at Jedburgh, in order to the suppressing of the robbers thereabouts, Walter Scott was condemned for high treason, and sent prisoner to Edinburgh castle, where he remained as long as the king lived. The same month of August, when Francis (as I said before) had excused his daughter's marriage, on account of her health, but withal had offered him any other of the blood royal, the king sent ambassadors into France, James, earl of Murray, viceroy of the kingdom, and William Stuart, bishop of Aberdeen (these two went by sea) and John Erskine by land, because he had some commands to deliver to Henry of England by the way. To them he added a fourth, *i. e.* Robert Reid, a good man, and of consummate wisdom. There Mary of Bourbon, the daughter of Charles duke of Vendosme, a lady of the blood, was offered to them, as a fit wife for their king. Other points were easily agreed upon; but the ambassadors, fearing that this marriage would not please their master, would make no espousal till they had acquainted him with it. In the mean time Henry of England, to trouble a matter which was upon the

point of concluding, in November sent the bishop of St. David's into Scotland, who brought James some English books, containing several points of the Christian religion, desiring James to read them, and diligently to weigh the contents. But he gave them to some of his courtiers, who were most addicted to the sacerdotal order, to inspect. They having scarce looked on them, condemned them as *heretical*; and moreover, they highly congratulated the king, that he had not polluted his eye (so they phrased it) with reading such pestiferous books. This was the cause of their embassy, according to common vogue. Yet, some say, that they brought some other secret messages to James. Afterward, the same bishop (together with William Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk) came so unexpectedly to Stirling, that they almost surprised the king, before he heard any news of their coming. Their errand was, that Henry desired James to appoint a day of interview, when they might confer together; for he had things of high moment and importance, and of mighty advantage to both nations to propound to him at that meeting. In that message, he gave great hope, if other matters could be well accorded, that he would bestow his daughter in marriage upon him, and leave him king of all Britain after his decease. And, that he might give more credit to his promises, he would make him for the present duke of York, and viceroy of the kingdom of England. James willingly assented to such large and alluring promises, and accordingly fixed a day for the interview. But there were two factions that resolved to oppose his journey for England: first the Hamiltons, who being next heirs to the crown, laboured underhand to keep the king from marrying, that he might have no children to exclude them from the succession. And next, the priests also were mightily against it, and their pretences were seemingly just and honest; as first, the danger he would run, if with a small retinue he should put himself into the power of his old enemy; for then he must comply with his will, though it proved to be never so much against his own. They recited the examples of his ancestors, who either by their own credulity, or else by the perfidiousness of the enemy, had been drawn into a snare; and from flattering promises of friendship, had brought home nothing but a sense of their ignominy and losses. They also urged the unhappy mistake of James I. who, in a time of truce, landed, as he thought, in his friends' country, was there kept prisoner eighteen years, and at last had such conditions imposed upon him, as he neither lawfully could, nor ought to have accepted; and then, said they, he was most sordidly sold to his own subjects. Moreover, Malcolm I. after him his brother William, kings of Scotland, were brought on the stage, who were enticed to London by Henry II. and then carried over into France, to make a shew

of assisting, in a war there against the French king, their old ally. But (say they) if it be objected, Henry VIII. will do none of these things; they answered first, *How shall we be assured of that?* Next, is it not a point of high imprudence to venture one's fortune, life, and dignity, which are now in one's own power, into the hands of another? Besides, the priests thinking that all their concerns were now at stake, and that they must, now or never, stand up for them; they ordered James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, two old decrepit men, to come to court, there to give it out, "That religion would be
" betrayed by this interview, even that religion which had been
" observed so many ages by their ancestors, and which had all
" along preserved its defenders, till that very day; the ruin of
" which would be likewise attended with the total destruction of
" the kingdom; to forsake that religion upon every slight occa-
" sion, especially at such a time, when the whole world conspir-
" ed together with arms in their hands, for its preservation,
" could not be done without great danger to the present times,
" and infamy to the future. Nay, that it would be a thing of
" great wickedness and impiety into the bargain." With these engines they battered James's mind, which of itself was inclined enough to superstition. And moreover, they corrupted those courtiers, who could the most prevail with him, desiring them, in their names, to promise him a great sum of money. So that by these artifices they wholly turned away his mind from the thoughts of an interview. Henry took this disappointment in great disdain, (as he indeed had reason), and thus the seeds of dissension were again sown between the two kings.

In the mean time, the king was weary of his single life; and by reason of foreign embassies, and the distractions caused by court factions at home, was variously agitated in his thoughts: All pretended the public good, but some aimed at their own private advantage under that specious pretence; and though most men persuaded him to an affinity with Charles, in regard of the flourishing estate of the empire at that time, yet he rather inclined to an alliance with France. And therefore, seeing the matter could not be ended by ambassadors, he himself resolved to sail over into France; and accordingly, rigging out a small navy, the best he could fit in so short a time, on the 26th of July he set sail from Leith, none knowing whither he would go. Many were of opinion that his design was for England, to visit his uncle, and ask him pardon for disappointing the interview proposed the year before. But, a tempest arising, and contrary winds tossing him, the pilot asked him, what course he should steer; *If there be a necessity*, said he, *land me any where but in England.* Then his mind was understood. He might have returned home, but was willing

rather to sail round Scotland, and to try the western ocean. There too he met with very bad weather, and, by the advice of a few of his domestics, while he was asleep, he was carried back again. When he awoke, he took the matter in such great indignation, that for ever after he bore an implacable hatred against James Hamilton, whom he had in disgust before upon the account of killing the earl of Lennox: Neither was he well pleased with the rest of the authors of that counsel ever after. And there were some who, in compliance with the king's angry humour, were continually buzzing in his ears, That Hamilton, under a pretence of a serviceable attendance and duty, had accompanied him on purpose to disappoint his design. However he out to sea again with a great train of nobles, September the 1st, and in ten days arrived at Dieppe in Normandy: From thence, that he might prevent the news of his arrival, he went in disguise, with great speed, to the town of Vendosme, where the duke then was, and saw his daughter, who happening not to please his fancy, he presently went to court. Though he came unexpectedly upon Francis and the whole court, yet he was honourably received by him; and on the 26th of November, almost against his will he bestowed in marriage his daughter Magdalene upon him: For her father (as I related before) judging his eldest daughter, by reason of her sickly temper, unfit to bear children, offered him his youngest, or any other woman of the French nobility, for a wife: But James and Magdalene having conceived a love for each other by messages, which was now confirmed by approaching, seeing and discoursing together, neither of them could be diverted from their purpose. The marriage was celebrated January the 1st, in the year 1537, to the great joy of all: and they both arrived in Scotland on the 28th of May, being attended by a French navy. She lived not long after, but died of an hectic fever July the 7th, to the great grief of all, except the priests, for they feared that her life would have put an end to their luxury and lust, because they knew she was educated under the discipline of her aunt the queen of Navarre. As for others, they conceived such a grief for her death, that then (as I think) mourning apparel was first used in Scotland, which is not much worn at present, though fashions commonly grow to an excess in such a space of time, which is now about forty years. Ambassadors were presently sent into France, cardinal David Beton, and Robert Maxwell, to bring over Mary of the house of Guise, widow to the duke of Longueville; for the king presaging the loss of his wife, had his eye upon her. The same year the earl of Bothwell, because he had passed over secretly into England, and also had held private cabals with the English in Scotland, was banished out of England, Scotland, and France. Moreover, about the same time, many persons were accused of

high treason: John Forbes, an active young man, the head of a great family and faction, was brought to his end, as was thought, by the jealousy of the Huntleys; for there was one Strachan, a man fit for any wicked enterprize, who was many years very familiar with Forbes, and was either privy to, or else partaker or author of, all his bad actions: He being not so much respected by him as he thought he deserved, applied himself to his enemy Huntley, and before him accused Forbes of treason, or (as many think) he there plotted the accusation with Huntley himself against him, viz. That Forbes, many years before, had a design to kill the king. The crime was not sufficiently proved, nor the witnesses unexceptionable; neither was the plot of his adversaries, the Huntleys, against his life, hid in the process; yet on the 13th of July, the judges, who were most of them bribed by Huntley, condemned him, and he had his head struck off. His punishment was the less lamented, because, though men believed him guiltless as to the crime he suffered for; yet they counted him worthy of death, for the improbity of his former life. Strachan, the discoverer, because he had concealed so great a crime so long, was banished Scotland, and lived many years after at Paris, but in so lewd and debauched a manner, that men thought him a fit instrument to bring about any wicked end whatsoever. The king, not long after, as if he had repented of his severity against Forbes, took a brother of his into his family; and advanced another to a rich match, restoring to him the estate which had been confiscated.

A few days after there was another trial, which was indeed very lamentable, on account of the accused parties, the new kind of wickedness charged on them, and the hideousness of the punishment. Joan Douglas, sister to the earl of Angus, and wife to John Lyons, lord of Glames; also her son, and her second husband Gillespy Campbell, John Lyons, kinsman to her former husband, and an old priest, were accused of endeavouring to poison the king. All these, though they lived continually in the country, far from court, and their friends and servants declared nothing upon their examination against them which could hurt them, yet were they put upon the rack to make them confess, and so were shut up in Edinburgh castle. The fifth day after Forbes was executed, Joan Douglas was burnt alive, with the great commiseration of all the spectators. The nobleness both of herself and husband did much affect the beholders; besides, she was in the vigour of her youth, much commended for her rare beauty, and in her very punishment she shewed a man-like fortitude. But that which people were most concerned for was, that they thought the enmity against her brother, who was banished, did her more prejudice than her own suspected crime. Her

husband endeavoured to escape out of the castle of Edinburgh, but the rope being too short to let him down to the foot of the rock, he broke almost all the bones of his body in the fall, and so ended his days. Their son, a youth of more innocent simplicity, than to have the suspicion of such a wickedness justly charged upon him, was shut up prisoner in the castle; and after the king's death was released, and recovered the estate which had been taken away from his parents. Their accuser was William Lyons, their near relation. He afterwards, perceiving that so eminent a family was like to be ruined by his false information, repented when it was too late, and confessed his offence to the king; and yet he could not prevail to prevent the punishment of the condemned, or to hinder their estates from being confiscated. The next year, on the 12th of June, Mary, of the house of Guise, arrived at Balcomy, a castle belonging to James, laird of Lermont; from whence she was conveyed by land to St. Andrews; and there, in a great assembly of the nobility, she was married to the king. The beginning of the year following, which was 1539, many persons were apprehended, as suspected of Lutheranism; and, about the end of February, five were burned, nine recanted, but many more were banished; amongst the sufferers of this class was George Buchanan, who, when his keepers were asleep, made his escape out of the window of the prison to which he was committed. This year the queen was brought to bed of a son at St. Andrews; and the next year of another in the same place. Both this year and the former, matters were rather hushed a little, than entirely composed; some men wanting rather a leader than occasion to rebel: For though many desired it, yet no man durst openly avow himself head of any insurrection. And now the king having heirs to succeed him, and by that means becoming more confident of a settled establishment, began to slight the nobility as a sluggish and unwarlike generation, and not likely to attempt any thing against him, whose family was now rivetted and confirmed by issue male, so that he applied his mind to unnecessary buildings. He stood in need of money for that work: and, in regard he was as covetous as he was indigent, both factions of nobles and priests were equally afraid, and each of them endeavoured to avert the tempest from falling upon them, that it might light on the other. And therefore, whenever the king complained of the lowness of his exchequer amongst his friends, one party would extol the riches of the other, as if it were a prey ready for the seizure; and the king hearkened sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, and so kept both in suspence, between hope and fear: so that when ambassadors came at that time out of England to court, to desire the king to give his uncle a meeting at York, promising him mighty

advantages by that interview, and making a long harangue concerning the love and good-will of their king towards him, the faction that opposed the priests persuaded him by all means to meet at the time and place appointed. When the ecclesiastical party heard of this, they thought their order would be quite undone, if they did not hinder the meeting of the two kings, and so disturb their concord, and sow the seeds of discord between the king and his nobles. And considering of all ways how to effect it, no remedy seemed more ready at hand for the present malady, than to make an attack upon the king's mind; which was not able to resist offers of money, by the promises of large subsidies. Accordingly, they placed before his eyes the greatness of the danger, the doubtful and uncertain credit of an enemy's promise; and that he might have a greater sum of money at home, and more easily procured. First of all, they promised to give him of their own 30,000 ducats of gold yearly, and all the rest of their estates also should be at his service, to obviate future emergencies, if any happened; and as for those who rebelled against the authority of the pope, and the majesty of the king, and troubled the peace of the church by new and wicked errors, and therefore would subvert all piety, overthrow the rights of magistracy, and cancel laws of so long standing, out of their estates he might get above an hundred thousand ducats more yearly into his exchequer, by way of confiscation, if he would permit them to nominate a lord chief-justice in the case, because they themselves could not, by law, sit in capital cases to condemn any man. And that, in the managing the process against them, there would be no danger, nor any delay in passing sentence; since so many thousand men were not afraid to take the books of the Old and New Testament into their hands, to discourse concerning the power of the pope, to condemn the ancient ceremonies of the church, and to detract from the reverence and observance which was due to religious persons consecrated to the service of God. This they urged upon him with such vehemency, that he appointed them a judge according to their own hearts, and that was James Hamilton, natural brother to the earl of Arran: him they had obliged by great gratuities before; and besides, he was resolved to insinuate himself into the king's favour, who long since had been offended with him, with the perpetration of some act by way of atonement, though it was ever so cruel.

About the same time, James Hamilton, sheriff of Linlithgow, and cousin-german to the other James, came into Scotland: he, after a long banishment, when he had commenced a suit against James the bastard, and had obtained leave to return for a time to his own country, understanding what danger he and the rest of the favourers of the reformed doctrine were in, sent his son with

a message to the king, just as he was going over into Fife; and having very opportunely met with him before he went aboard, he filled his mind, which was naturally suspicious, with fearful presages, that this commission, granted to Hamilton, would be a capital matter, and pernicious to the whole kingdom, unless he prevented this sophistry by another stratagem. The king, who was then hastening into Fife, sent the young man back to Edinburgh, to the court called the Exchequer-court, where he also commanded to assemble James Lermont, James Kirkaldy, and Thomas Erskine, of whom the first was master of the household; the second, lord high treasurer, neither of them averse to the reformed religion; the third was highly of the popish faction, and the king's secretary. These were all ordered to meet, and the king commanded them to give the same credit to the messenger, as they would do to himself, if he were present; and so took the ring off his finger, and sent it them as a known token between them. They consulted together, and apprehended James just after he had dined and prepared himself for his journey, and committed him prisoner to the castle. But, having intelligence by their spies at court, that the king was pacified, and that he would be released, besides the public danger, they were afraid also of their particular selves, lest a man, factious and potent, being released, after he had been provoked by so great an affront and ignominy, should afterwards meditate a cruel and bitter revenge against them. They speedily hastened to court, and informed the king of the imminency of the danger; of the wayward disposition, fierceness, and power of the man; all which they augmented, to raise the greater suspicion of him: so that they persuaded the king not to suffer so crafty, and withal so puissant a person, being also provoked by this late disgrace, to be set at liberty, without a legal trial. The king came to Edinburgh, and from thence to Seton, where he caused James to be brought to his trial, and, in a court legally constituted, according to the custom of the country, he was condemned, and had his head struck off: his body was quartered after his execution, and the quarters hanged up in the public parts of the city. The crimes objected against him, in behalf of the king, were, that, on a certain day, he had broke open the king's bed-chamber, and had designed to kill him; and that he had carried on secret designs with the Douglasses, who were declared public enemies. Few were grieved for his death, because of the wickedness of his former life, save only his own kindred and the ecclesiastics, who had placed all the hopes of their fortunes, in a manner, upon his life alone.

From that time forward the king increased in his suspicions of

the nobility; and besides, his mind was so distracted with cares, that he could not enjoy his sleep at quiet, but was tormented with dreams; of which there was one more remarkable than the rest, which was much talked of, That, in his sleep, he saw James Hamilton running at him with his drawn sword, and that he first cut off his right arm, then his left, and threatened him shortly to come and take away his life, and then disappeared. When he awaked in a fright, and was pondering many things about the event of his dream, word was brought him, that both his sons died almost at one and the same moment of time, one at St. Andrews, and the other at Stirling.

Mean while there was not a certain peace, nor yet an open war, with the king of England, who was long since offended, in-somuch that, without any declaration of war, preys were driven from the borders of Scotland. Neither would the English, when called upon to make restitution, give any favourable answer: so that all men saw that Henry was in an high indignation, because the interview at York was frustrated. And James, though he knew that war was certainly at hand, and therefore made levies for that purpose, and had appointed his brother, the earl of Murray, to be general of all his forces, and had also made all necessary preparation for a defence, yet he sent an ambassador to the enemy, if it were possible, to compose matters without blows. In the mean time, George Gordon was sent to the borders, with a small force, to stop the pillaging incursions of the enemy. The English despised the small number of forces under Gordon, and therefore hastened to burn Jedburgh: but George Hume, with 400 horse, interposed, and charged them briskly, and after a short fight, when they saw the Gordons coming, they were put into a fright, and so fled away in confusion to escape their enemies. There were not many slain, but several taken prisoners. James Lermont, who was treating about a peace at Newcastle, had scarce received his answer; but, that the war might be carried on more covertly, he was commanded to return with the English army. Moreover, John Erskine, and ———, who were sent ambassadors from Scotland, met the said army at York, where they were detained by Howard, the general, and never dismissed till they came to Berwick.

James, being assured by his spies, before the return of the ambassadors, of the marching of the English army, formed his camp at Falkirk, about fourteen miles from the borders; but sent George Gordon on before, with ten thousand men, to prevent the plunderings of the English; yet he did nothing considerable, and had not so much as a light skirmish with the enemy.

The king of Scotland was mighty earnest to give battle; but

the nobility would not hear of it by any means; so that he was full of wrath, and burst out in a rage against them, calling them *cowards, and unworthy of their ancestors*; every now and then telling them, that, *since he was betrayed by them, he himself, and his own family, would do that, which they had cowardly refused to do*. Neither could he be appeased, though they came about him, and told him, That he had done enough for his honour; that he had not only kept the English army, which was so long a time in levying, and that had invaded Scotland on a sudden, and that with threats to do great matters, from straggling up and down the country for booty and plunder; but also, for the space of eight days, that it remained in Scotland, had so pent up the English, that they never marched above a mile from the borders: for, after they drew out of Berwick, they went as far as Kelso up against the stream; and there, being informed of the march of the Scottish army, they passed over the ford, being so fearful to engage, that they rushed into the river with the utmost precipitation and disorder; and, as every one passed over, they left their colours, and made the best of their way home. Gordon, in the mean time, who saw this at a distance, stirred not at all, nor made he any attempt upon them in their rear, for which the king conceived an implacable hatred against him.

Maxwell, to appease the king's anger as much as he could, promised, if he might have ten thousand men, to march into England by the Solway, and to do some considerable service: and he would have been as good as his word, if the king, being angry with his nobles, had not given secret letters and a commission to Oliver Sinclair, brother to the laird of Roslin, which he was not to open till such a time. The contents were, That the whole army should acknowledge him for their general. James's design in it was, that if his army had had the better, the glory of the victory might not redound to the nobles. When they were come into their enemy's country, and about five hundred English horse appeared on the neighbouring hills, Oliver Sinclair was lifted up on high by those of his faction, and leaning upon two spears, caused the king's commission to be read; at which the whole army was so offended, and especially Maxwell, that they broke their ranks, and thronged confusedly in, one among another. Their enemies, though accustomed to wars, yet never hoping for so great an advantage, when from the upper ground they beheld things in such a confusion amongst them, rushed upon them with a great shout, as their manner is, and so assaulted them, as they were in a fright, and suspended between the design of flying or fighting; and thus horse, foot, and baggage were promiscuously driven into the next marshes; where

many were taken by the English, more by the Scottish moss-troopers and sold to the English.

When this loss of his army was brought to the king, who was not far off, he was moved beyond measure with indignation, anger, and grief, insomuch that his mind was distracted two ways; sometimes to take revenge of the perfidiousness of his own people, as he called it, and sometimes to make preparation for a new war, and for the renewing of the public affairs. But in that almost desperate state of things, it seemed the best way to make a truce with the English, and to call back Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, on the best conditions he could. But his body being worn out with watching and fasting, and his mind overwhelmed with cares, he died a few days after, on the 13th of December, leaving his daughter his heiress, a child of about five days old. He was buried on the 14th day of January, in the monastery of Holyrood, near his first wife Magdalene.

In his life-time, his countenance and the make of his body were very comely, his stature not very tall, but his strength above the proportion of his body; his wit was sharp, but not sufficiently cultivated with learning, which was the fault of the times; his diet was sparing; he seldom drank wine; he was most patient of labour, cold, heat, and hunger; he would often sit on horseback, night and day, in the coldest winter, that so he might catch the thieves in their harbours at unawares, and his activity struck such a terror into them, that they abstained from their evil purposes, as if he had always been present amongst them. He was so well acquainted with the customs of his country, that he would give just answers concerning weighty matters, as he went his journeys upon the road, with a great deal of readiness and exactness; he was easy of access even to the poorest. But his great virtues were almost equalled by as many vices; yet they had this alleviation, that they seemed rather imputed to the times in which he lived, than to his own natural disposition. For such an universal licentiousness had over-run all, that public discipline could not be retrieved, but with a great deal of strictness and severity.

That which made him so covetous of money was, that when he was under the guardianship of others, he was educated with great parsimony; and, as soon as ever he came to be of age, he entered into an empty palace, where he found that all his house-hold stuff had been embezzled; so that every room of his palace was to be new furnished at once, and his guardians had expended the royal revenue on those uses, which he wholly disapproved.

Those who had the instruction of his youth, made him more inclinable to women, because by that means they hoped to have him longer under their tuition. A great part of the nobility did not much lament his death, because he had banished some of them, and kept many others in prison; and many, for fear of his severity, a fresh disgust being now added to their former contempt, chose rather to surrender themselves to the English king, their enemy, than to commit themselves to the anger of their own.



(A. C. 1542.)

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK XV.

THE king dying in the flower of his age, rather of grief than any disease, and the tumults of the former times being rather hushed asleep than composed; wise men foresaw so great a tempest impending over Scotland, the like of which they themselves never beheld, nor had ever read of in ancient records. The king had not so much as ordered his own domestic affairs, but had left a daughter, born about eight days before his death, heiress to the crown. As for those of the nobility who had borne sway, either they were slain in battle, or else were banished, or taken prisoners by the enemy. And if they had been at home, yet, by reason of private animosities, or of dissensions on the account of religion, which were stifled out of fear during the king's life; but now, that restraint being taken off, were likely to break out again, they would have quarrelled amongst themselves; so that they were not in any probability of acting like men of sobriety and discretion.

And besides, they were engaged in a war against a most powerful king; and every one spoke according to his hope or fear, what would be the use he would make of his victory. He that was the second heir, and next to the crown, as he was not commonly reported to have much of virtue, even for the management of his private life, so he was as little noted for counsel or valour, to manage the kingdom. As for the cardinal, he thinking that in those

public calamities he might have an opportunity to aggrandize himself; that he might shew himself *some-body*, both to his own order, and also to the French faction, attempted a thing both bold and impudent. For by the hired assistance of Henry Balfour, a mercenary priest, he suborned a false will of the king's, wherein he himself was nominated to the supreme authority, with three of the most potent of the nobility to be his assessors. He was in great hopes that his project would succeed from the disposition of the earl of Arran, one of his assessors and partners in the government, who was not turbulent but rather inclinable to be easy and quiet. And besides, he was near of kin to him, for he was son to the cardinal's aunt. Moreover, the opportunity to invade the supreme power, seemed to require haste, that he might be possessed of it before the exiles and captives returned out of England, that so they might have no hand in conferring this honour upon him; for he was afraid of their power and popularity. Neither did he doubt but that their minds were alienated from him upon the score of a different religion. This was the cause, that presently after the king's death he published an edict concerning the chusing of four governors of the kingdom. He also gained some of the nobles, by promises and gifts, to engage them to his faction, and especially the queen, who was somewhat disaffected to the adverse party. Hamilton their head, was a man not ambitious, but rather willing to live in quiet, if his relations would have suffered him; but they studying their own honour and interest, rather than his, night and day puffed up the mind of the young gentleman with hopes, and advised him by no means to let slip so fair an opportunity put into his hands; for they had rather have things in a combustion, than to live in a fixed and private condition of life. And besides, the hatred of the cardinal got them many friends, and the indignity of their bondage under a mercenary priest. They had also some appearance of hope, which, though uncertain in itself, yet was not inefficacious to stir up men's endeavours, that, since Hamilton was the next heir, and a female, so few days old, the only person betwixt him and the crown, she might meet with many mischances, either casually, or by the fraud of her guardians, before she came to be marriageable. Thus while they were laying the foundations of their future power, it seemed most advisable, not to neglect the advantage which the present state of things offered, and to hope well for the exaltation of the Hamiltons; and if that hope deceived them, yet it would not be difficult for them to obtain the pardon of a new princess, who in the beginning of her reign would study to win the respect of all men.

Whilst things were at this pass in Scotland, the king of England, full of extraordinary joy for so unexpected a victory, sent

for the chief of the Scottish prisoners up to London; where, after they had been imprisoned in the Tower two days, on St. Thomas's day, which was the 21st of December, they were all brought through the city, where it was the longest, as if they were to be shewn as a public spectacle to the people; and, coming to Whitehall the king's court, they were sharply reprov'd by the chancellor, as violaters of the league. And, after he had made a large discourse concerning the goodness and clemency of his king, who had remitted much of the rigour of justice he might have used towards them, they were distributed about into several families, and lodged among them as prisoners at large. There were seven of the nobility, and twenty-four of the gentry among these captives. But when the news came in less than three days, that the king of Scots was dead, and had left one only daughter his heiress, Henry thought it a fit opportunity to conciliate and unite the minds both of Scots and English in a band of union, by espousing his son to their queen. Upon this, he recalled the prisoners to court, and employed some fit persons to feel their pulses in the case; where being kindly entertained, promising to contribute their assistance towards the match, as far as they might without detriment to their own or the public honour, on the first of January, at the beginning of the year 1543, they were all released, and sent back towards Scotland. When they came to Newcastle, and had given hostages to Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, as to other matters they were free, and so returned home. There returned also with them the Douglasses, two brothers, being just then restored to their country, after fifteen years banishment. They were all received with the gratulation of the major part of the people. The cardinal, who saw this storm gathered against him, making no doubt but the prisoners and the exiles would be both his opposers in the parliament, had taken care to be chosen regent before their coming. But he enjoyed that honour not long; for within a few days, his fraud in counterfeiting the king's will and testament being discovered, he was thrown out of place, and James Hamilton, earl of Arran, made regent; through a desire which some had to ingratiate themselves with him, as the next heir to the crown. Others foresaw so long before, the cruelty of the cardinal in matters of religion, and therefore provided against it, by lessening his power. Their fear was increased by a schedule found among the king's papers after his death, wherein the names of above 300 of the nobility were contained as criminals; and, amongst them, he that was chosen regent, was the first person to have been questioned. This made his election very grateful to the majority, because it seemed the most probable means to release many from danger, and to curb the pride of the priests. Besides, he himself willingly read the books that contained controversies

about religion; and the quietness and retirement of his former life, far remote from court ambition, made many hope, that he would be sober and moderate in his government. Besides, being out of the magistracy, he had not yet discovered any inactivity or sluggishness of mind.

In a parliament which was held in March, sir Ralph Sadler came ambassador from England, in order to a marriage, and settling a peace. He put some of the nobility in mind of their promise: others, as the report goes, he tempted with money. The queen-mother, cardinal, and the whole faction of priests being not only against this peace, but by disturbing some members and counsellors, and corrupting others, not suffering it so much as to be put to the vote; by the general consent of almost the whole parliament, the cardinal, while the votes were taken, was confined to his chamber. In his absence, they easily agreed upon the marriage of the young queen, and other matters; and sureties were promised to be sent to England for the performance of them. The cardinal, at the intercession of the queen-mother, was kept in a loose kind of custody by Seton, who was persuaded, for a certain sum of money, in a little while after, to let him go. When peace seemed thus to be settled to the great advantage of both kingdoms, after so great a dread of an impending war, every body thought it would be a lasting one; and therefore the merchants, who, for some years before, had been hindered from trading, went thick and three-fold to sea, and laded very many ships with the best commodities they could procure for the time allotted them so to do. Edinburgh sent out twelve ships; other cities of that circuit (which is the richest part of Scotland) rigged out ships, each according to their respective abilities. This fleet, in confidence of the peace with England, drew nearer the shores than they needed to have done, and when the wind was calm, some lay at anchor, others entered into the ports, and so laid themselves open to the injuries of the English, if any tumult of war should arise.

About the same time, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, and David Painter, returned out of France. These men now threw off the mask, with which they had disguised themselves before for so many years, and then began to play the old pranks that were natural to them. They, as if they had been educated in the school of profaneness, and not in that of piety, were the ring-leaders at court, who prompted men to all manner of impieties. The cardinal, as he was restored to his liberty unexpectedly, being of a proud and haughty disposition, which was aggravated by the repulse he had received, and by the ignominy occurring in the detection of his fraud, sought out all occasions whatsoever to disturb this concord. First of all, he communicated with the queen-

dowager; and they both took it in great indignation, that the Douglasses (who, for the many benefits they had received from the English, must needs be their fast friends) should immediately, after so many years banishment, be admitted into the parliament-house, to debate the weightiest affairs of the kingdom. Besides, they all feared a change of the established religion, the consequence of which must needs be a breach of the league with France. Upon this, the cardinal, by the consent of the queen, summoned a convocation of priests, and extorted from them a great sum of money, as fearing the universal ruin of the whole papal church. Part of this money was paid to some of the nobles of the adverse party, and many large promises were made them besides, to persuade them not to give the promised hostages to the English; and as for those who were newly returned from their captivity, and had left their children or kindred as hostages for their return, he obliged them not to prefer those (otherwise dear) pledges before the laws, the public safety, and their ancient religion, whose preservation turned upon this single hinge; and that they would not run willingly into perpetual bondage. Besides, he caused the ecclesiastics to carry it proudly and disrespectfully towards the English ambassadors, insomuch that the very rabble reproached and abused his retinue, and there was nothing he could say or do, but what was all taken in the worst sense. But the ambassador resolved to bear all affronts, and weather out this tide of inconveniencies, till the day for delivering the hostages should approach, that so he might give no occasion of a rupture on his part. And, when that day came, he went to the regent, and complained of the affronts which had been offered, not so much to himself, as to his king, whom he represented; and insisted, that it was a violation of the law of nations. And he desired him to give hostages according to the tenor of the league lately made, that so the renewed amity might be kept sacred and inviolate, to the mutual advantage of both nations. The regent, as to the affronts offered, excused himself, and said he was sorry for them, and that he would speedily search into the matter, that so the punishment of such petulant offenders, should be a sufficient testimony of the love and veneration he had for the English nation. But as to hostages, he answered, that he could not obtain them with the goodwill of the estates, neither was he able to compel them without public consent; for the government which he bore was such, that he received as much law as he gave; and therefore all his measures were disturbed by the great sedition, which he saw the cardinal had raised. That he was, as it were, carried down in the stream of a popular fury, and could scarce maintain his own station and dignity. The new hostages being thus denied, there was another thing as weighty as that, which fell under debate,

and that was, concerning the nobles lately taken prisoners of war, who, upon their releasement, had given hostages, and made solemn asseverations, that if there were not a peace concluded, as Henry desired, upon just and fair terms, they would surrender themselves prisoners again. As for them, the cardinal's faction, and the rest of the ecclesiastical order had dealt with them, partly by reasons, and partly by examples, not to prefer their estates, kindred, children, or any other thing which might be dear to them, before the love of their country. And what was more, they threatened them with auxiliaries from France, and that all Europe conspired for the defence of their ancient rights and religion; and if they acted contrary, they would betray their country, and bring on the immediate ruin of their ancient families. They also desired them, in so dangerous a time, not to forsake their country: for if that were safe, they might hope for more kindred and children; but if that were overthrown, then all was gone. Besides, they discoursed much concerning the inexpiable hatred betwixt the two nations, and of the cruelty of the king, into whose hands they were to come; thus blending truths and falsehoods together. Moreover, they alleged the decree of the council of Constance, that all pacts, contracts, promises and oaths, made with heretics, ought to be rescinded and made void. The greatest part of those who were concerned in this matter, were willing to hearken to any colourable pretence for their fault; only there was one of them, who for no pecuniary consideration whatever could be taken off; nor by any threats deterred from keeping his word; and that was Gilbert Kennedy earl of Cassils. He had left two of his brothers hostages in England; and he openly professed, that neither for fear nor danger would he redeem his own life with the loss of his brothers; but whatever came of it, he would surrender himself back a prisoner: and so, against the desire of many, he went directly on his journey to London. Henry much commended the resolute fidelity of the young man; and, to the intent that all might know he had an esteem for virtue, he richly rewarded him, and sent him back with his two brothers into Scotland.

But Henry's mind was not more pacified towards Gilbert, than his anger was implacable against the rest of the Scots; and he accordingly laid an embargo upon all the Scots ships in all English ports and harbours, of which there was a great number, as I said before, and presently declared war. His menaces were great, as against the violators, not only of leagues, but even of the law of nations. And yet though Scotland stood tottering in so dangerous a condition, the memory of alliances, the common love to their country, and the respect of the public safety, were so far laid aside, that the flames of sedition were blown up with more fierce-

ness than ever; for the faction of the cardinal, and of the queen dowager, who were all for the French, sent over ambassadors thither, to tell them, That unless they sent in assistance, the matter was upon the very point, that England and Scotland would make a coalition into one government; and how much such a conjunction would concern France, the experience of former ages had shewn. But they made it their chief request to the French, that they would send back Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, into his own country, who did not only emulate the family of the Hamiltons, but was also their deadly enemy, by reason of their having slain his father at Linlithgow. This young man was greatly beloved, not only for his extraordinary beauty and stately mien, in the very flower of his youth, but chiefly upon the account of the memory of his father, who had been a most popular man: And there was great danger that so noble a family, now reduced to a few, should be utterly extinguished. Besides, he had many clanships of his own, and also affinity with many other great families. What was still more, the last king had designed him to be his heir and successor, if he himself died without issue male: and he would have confirmed that his intention by a decree of the estates (who have the sovereign power to order such public affairs) if his life had been prolonged. Nay, there were some flatterers, who endeavoured to exalt his generous mind, which was of itself already raised up with the expectation of great things, but was not so well fortified against fraudulent sycophants, to larger hopes; for, besides the supreme rule for above twenty years of the young queen's minority, and the dominion over his old enemies, they promised him, that he should marry the queen-dowager; and if the young queen, who had the name only of supreme governess, should miscarry, then without doubt he would be the next king; and not only so, but also the lawful heir of James Hamilton lately deceased; for that the regent was a bastard, and was so far from any just expectation of the kingdom, that he could not lawfully claim the inheritance of his own family. Besides, they urged the encouragement of the French king, who gave hopes of great assistance in due time. When the plain-hearted and credulous young man was thus persuaded, he provided for his voyage into Scotland. Hamilton was not ignorant of any of these things; and, to the end that he might gain an accession of strength to his own party, by the advice of those friends in whom he reposed the greatest trust, he resolved to take away the young queen from Linlithgow, where she yet was under the power of her mother; for if he once got her into his hands, then not only the shadow of the royal name, which is an attractive thing amongst the vulgar, would be of his side, but he would likewise have the power of bestowing her in marriage, and so

make himself arbiter of the kingdom, to transfer it just as he pleased; which if he could obtain, then the king of England might be managed by fair words, or persuaded to join with him in case of need.

This design was much approved: but, as is usual in civil discords, spies on both sides get hold of proper informations, some body acquainted the cardinal with the matter. He, gathering together some of the nobility, whom he had made his friends with money, came to Linlithgow, and to the great burden of the inhabitants, staid there some days, as a guard to the queen. In the mean time Lennox arrived out of France, and, being kindly received by the regent, each of them dissembling their hatred, he went to Linlithgow. Here he addressed the cardinal, and then went to his own house, where in a meeting of friends, he discoursed at large why he came over; at whose invitation; by whom sent for; and upon what hopes: That he was promised not only the chief magistracy, but also that the heads of the faction, with the queen-dowager's consent, had assured him, that he should marry her: And, that, in order to the effecting of it, the king of France had encouraged him to expect aid and assistance from thence. They all assented to his speech, and advised him not to be wanting to his good fortune, which so freely had offered itself. And thus, with about four thousand men, he came to the queen. Hamilton, who had drawn all the friends and forces he could presently raise to Edinburgh, resolved to break through to the queen; but now perceiving that his forces were too weak, by the advice of his friends, and, out of his own disposition to peace, began to treat of an accommodation. Accordingly some prudent persons were chosen on both sides, who met at the town of Liston, almost in the middle way between Edinburgh and Linlithgow: And an agreement was made betwixt them on these terms: That the queen should be removed to Stirling; and that four of the prime nobility, who had engaged themselves in neither faction, should be chosen out to have an eye over her education; and those were William Graham, John Erskine, John Lindsay, and William Livingston, eminent persons, and all heads of illustrious families. They, by the decree of both parties, took the queen, and entered upon the road leading to Stirling whilst Lennox stood in arms with his men, till they had travelled far enough to be out of danger from the contrary faction; and not long after, with the accustomed ceremonies, and ensigns of majesty, she began her reign at Stirling, August 21.

The regent perceiving that the favour of the inconstant vulgar was alienated from him; and that his forces were inferior to those of the contrary faction, began to entertain private conferences with them: And the cardinal, who was of kin to him by the mo-

ther's side, sought to bring him over to his party, by terrifying him, rather than to subdue him by force of arms: So that having weakened him at home, in taking off part of the nobility from him by his largesses, and, by forcing him into a disadvantageous league, rendered him cheaper, and of less repute among the English; he now, by the intervention of his familiar friends, who had more regard to money, than love to honesty, persuading him to come to Stirling, there caused him to recant and change his opinion concerning all the controverted points of religion; not openly, that the infamy of the fact might be lessened among the vulgar, but in a convent of the Franciscans, in the presence of the queen-dowager, and the chief nobles of the court; and for fear of a suit which the cardinal threatened to commence against him for his whole estate, he was so obsequious, that he put himself wholly under his influences, insomuch that he only retained the shadowy name of a regent. Thus by the regent's cowardice, and the avarice of his relations, the cardinal obtained that which he had sought after by forging the will, as above, viz. he enjoyed all the advantages of the government without envy. There seemed but one thing wanting to establish his power, and that was the removal of Lennox, who was a great block in the way of his designs. At last, the queen-dowager and cardinal fixed upon this project, that, till an answer came from France, she should hold the young man's mind in suspense, by giving him some hopes of marrying her. For they had written honourably of Lennox to the French king, as indeed they could do no other; for next to God, they were indebted to him for restoring them to the liberty they enjoyed. But withal they desired the king, that, seeing matters were not quieted in Scotland, by his royal liberality and assistance he would be pleased to maintain the good work he had done them, and to confirm the peace he had been the cause of, by recalling Lennox: for, without that, things would never long continue in peace, but one or other of the factions must be destroyed. Thus they undermined Lennox privately; but in public he was entertained with variety of diversions by the queen and cardinal; the court was dissolved in luxury and lasciviousness, and wholly given up to plays and feastings. The day rang with tilts and tournaments, the night with balls and masquerades.

Lennox, inclinable by nature to these recreations, and besides much accustomed to them in the French court, was now whetted by a rival, James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, who was enough to sharpen even a palled appetite. This James was banished by king James V. but presently after his death he returned home, and aspired to the marriage of the queen, by the same arts as Lennox did. And indeed the endowments of nature and fortune were very eminent in both of them, insomuch that they might be

said to be rather like than equal. Bothwell matched him in other things, but in these ludicrous combats and feats of arms being inferior to him; he left the court, and departed to his own house. Lennox, when his rival was removed, thought now that all was easy and secure on his part, and so he earnestly pressed, that the promises made him by the queen and cardinal might be performed. But perceiving at last, that he was fraudently dealt with, and that Hamilton, his enemy, was advanced by them to honour, authority, and the supreme power over all men's lives and fortunes, his youthful mind, which was not accustomed to ill arts, but judged all others like himself, was so inflamed with anger, that he broke out into bitter expressions, and solemnly swore, that he would suffer want, banishment, death, nay, any thing whatsoever, rather than such an affront should go unrevenge'd. Accordingly, he returned to Dumbarton, wholly bent on revenge, but as yet uncertain what course to take to accomplish it. There he received 30,000 French crowns from the king of France, who had not yet certainly heard how affairs stood in Scotland, to enable him to strengthen his party. That money gave some relief to his distempered mind, because it gave him room to hope that he was not forsaken by the French king. But being commanded by the donor to distribute the money by advice of the queen dowager and the cardinal, he gave one part of it to his own friends, and sent another part to the queen. The cardinal, who had already devoured all that booty in his mercenary thoughts, being grievously troubled, not only at his disappointment and loss, but also at his disgrace in the matter, persuaded the regent presently to levy an army, and to march to Glasgow, not doubting but that he might there surprise Lennox and the money together. Their design being made known to Lennox, he speedily levied above 10,000 men of his own friends and vassals. That which much facilitated the raising such a multitude, was the indignation of some of the nobles, who, at the beginning, out of love to religion, and hatred to the cardinal, had been the instruments to advance the regent to that high honour; but now they had changed their former goodwill into hatred, because, without consulting them, he had delivered up, and as much as in him lay, betrayed his best-deserving friends, together with himself, into the servitude of their most cruel enemy.

This frame of spirit made a new, and indeed a scarce credible change in the Scottish affairs; the strength of the factions seemed almost entire, only they were headed by other commanders. Hamilton and his kindred joined themselves to the queen-dowager and cardinal; but his former friends sided with Lennox. With these forces, levied on a sudden, Lennox came to Leith, and sent some into Edinburgh, to tell the cardinal, that he needed not to

march to Glasgow to fight him, for he would give him opportunity to do it any day when he pleased, in the fields between Leith and Edinburgh. The cardinal, who had drawn the regent to his party, and imagined that the power of the adverse party was so weakened by it, that he hoped none durst look him in the face, now unexpectedly seeing himself challenged by a greater army than he had to defend him, did not refuse the combat in words, but only deferred the day of fight, upon several pretences, well knowing that Lennox could not long keep an army together, consisting of volunteers, without pay or provision made for any long time. In the mean time, he endeavoured by entreaties and promises to work over the minds of those, who were most for his turn. Lennox, seeing that the enemy's design was to lengthen out the war, and by no means to hazard a fight, and being unprovided with necessaries to begin a siege, and also perceiving that some of his men had secret conferences by night with the enemy, to deliver himself out of these straits (his friends, who had made secret provision for themselves, urging him likewise so to do) he was forced to capitulate with the regent; and so he went to Edinburgh to him, and they transacted matters some days together, as if they had quite forgot their old hatred and animosity.

At length, when he came to Linlithgow, Lennox receiving advices from his friends, that some hidden mischiefs were brewing against him; in the night-time he went privately to Glasgow, and having fortified the bishop's castle with a garrison, and with sufficient provisions, he went to Dumbarton; there he received more certain information that the Douglasses and the Hamiltons were agreed; and because some suspicions and relics of old grudges were left betwixt the factions, George Douglas and Alexander Cunningham were given as hostages, the one for the father, the other for the brother. Though this was done for a pretence and a disguise of a firmer concord, and a promise made that they should speedily be released, yet notwithstanding they were detained till the coming in of the English army: for the Hamiltons never thought themselves secure, till those nobles who had any interest or courage were removed; that so, by the terror of their punishment, others might be restrained from insurrections. Besides, about the same time, Lennox was informed, that the king of France was wrought into a disgust against him by the malicious practices of his enemies.

In the mean time, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, and Robert Maxwell, chief of a noble family, came to Glasgow, to accommodate matters, if it were possible, between the regent and Lennox; but the regent's council persuaded him to apprehend the very mediators for peace; and thus, by a back-way, to avoid the

tumult of the people, they were carried out, and sent prisoners to Hamilton castle.

In this posture of affairs in Scotland, when not only the English, but the chief of the Scots also, were angry with the regent, Henry of England thought it a fit opportunity for him to punish the violators, not only of the league, but of the law of nations too; yet, before he would attack the Scots by force, he sent letters full of just complaints and threats to Edinburgh, blaming them for refusing his alliance, which they could not do well without, and so arrogantly as they did too, when he had so freely and generously offered it; nay, that they had not only rejected that alliance, but repaid his favours with sowing the seeds of war; and so had enforced him to arm against his will. These letters doing no good, he caused those great naval forces which he had ready, designed with the first opportunity for the coast of France, to set sail for Scotland, and to infest Edinburgh and Leith, both which towns had most affronted his ambassadors, and the country round about them, with all the plagues and misery of a war. The ships arriving there, landed 10,000 foot, May 4th, a little above Leith, who, without any resistance, entered the town; for most of the townsmen were absent, and intent upon their merchandizing abroad. The regent and cardinal being then at Edinburgh, and unprovided of all things, knew not what to do, but were so surprised, that they presently set at liberty those four eminent persons which they had in durance, as aforesaid, not for any regard to the public safety, but partly fearing, lest otherwise their kinsmen and tenants should refuse to fight, if not join themselves to the enemy; and partly also, that they might redeem the good-will of the people, who they knew had a general distaste against them upon many accounts; but they, not daring to trust to the hatred of the citizens and of their enemies too, fled to Linlithgow. The English staid three days at Leith, to land their ordnance and baggage, and so prepared themselves for the assault. Having settled other matters, they marched to Edinburgh, pillaged and burnt the city, and then dispersed themselves to spoil the neighbouring parts; they ruined many villages, with some castles and seats of noblemen. From Edinburgh they returned to Leith, and having a fair wind, set fire to the houses, hoisted sail, and went away.

About that time Lennox was certainly informed, that Francis king of France was wholly disgusted at him. For the contrary faction, by their frequent letters and messages, had persuaded him, that it was Lennox alone, who, by reason of his old enmity against the adversaries of his father, hindered the public tranquillity and concord of all Scotland; and that he was the head of the faction against the regent, and a favourer of the English, and

one who rather indulged his own private animosities, than promoted the common cause; and, that if the king would recal him into France, peace would be easily made up amongst the rest. When Lennox had received intelligence by his friends, what his enemies had informed against him, he also writ to Francis, informing him in what case he found the affairs of Scotland, and how he and his friends had, with a great deal of pains, restored both queens to their liberty; and had put them into a posture and capacity to rule, having broken the power of the adverse party; and, out of a most turbulent tempest, had brought things to a great tranquillity; and that nothing would be more acceptable to him, than to return into France, where he had lived rather longer of the two than in Scotland, and so to enjoy the sweet society of the friends he most loved. But that his coming into his own country was not of his own accord, but he was sent by the king; and that he had done nothing there that his majesty himself need to be ashamed of. And if he would not abridge him of his former favour, he would shortly answer, nay, perhaps exceed the hope he had conceived of him; but, if he should call him away in the midst of the career of his designs, then he must not only leave the things he had so excellently begun, unfinished, but also expose his friends, kindred, and vassals, whom he had engaged in the public cause, and who had almost been worn out with cost and labour, to servitude and torment, under an impious and cruel tyrant, who, as much as in him was, had sold both queen and kingdom to the enemy; and who observed the pacts and promises he made to men, no more religiously, than he did the duties of piety towards God; for within a few years he had changed his religion three times. Neither was it to be wondered at in him, who looked upon oaths and promises, not as bonds obliging to fidelity and truth, but the specious covers of perfidiousness and treachery. And therefore he moved earnestly, that the king, and those of his council, would consider, whether, in so great an affair, they would believe him, all whose ancestors had devoted themselves, their lives, honours and fortunes, for the increase of his grandeur, and who indeed had been honoured and rewarded by him with many benefits, which yet were rather testimonies of their good acceptance, than just rewards and compensations of their labours; or else a man, who would change his friends and foes at the blast of every wind, and who depended on the arbitrement of fortune alone.

Though many were not ignorant, that these allegations were true, yet the French king was so influenced by the Guises, the queen-dowager's father and uncle, and who in all things endeavoured to promote her concerns, that his heart and ear were both shut against Lennox's request; insomuch, that he would not per-

mit John Campbell, a man of approved virtue, sent by Lennox, to have audience, or so much as to come into his presence, but kept him in the nature of a prisoner, and had spies set upon him to watch him, that so he might not write back any thing of the designs in agitation at the French court; yet notwithstanding this their caution, there were some who told him all. When Lennox heard this by the dispatches which were sent him, his troubled mind was variously hurried betwixt anger and shame; he was ashamed to leave his enterprize which he had begun, unfinished; and the rather, because he thought that he was not able to satisfy the love of his friends and kindred, whom he had drawn with him into the same danger, but by the sacrifice of his life. As for the rest, his anger was highly inflamed, especially against the queen-dowager and the cardinal, by whose perfidious contumely he was cast into these straits; but he was chiefly offended with the king of France, complaining, that he had brought him upon the stage, and now in the midst of his prosperous actings had forsaken him, and joined himself with his enemies. Whilst his thoughts thus fluctuated, not knowing where to fix, news was brought him, that all the inhabitants, on this side mount Grantzbaïn, who were able to bear arms, were commanded by proclamation, against such a day, to appear at Stirling, and to bring ten days provision along with them, that they might be ready to march wheresoever the regent should command them. And accordingly they came at the day appointed, and the regent commanded them to Glasgow. There he besieged the castle ten days, and battered it with brass guns. At last a truce was granted for a day, and the guards tampered with; so that the castle was surrendered, upon quarter, and indemnity granted to the garrison-soldiers; yet notwithstanding all of them, but one or two were put to death.

In the mean time, Lennox, being forsaken by the French king, and also cut off from any hope of other aid, made trial by his friends, how the king of England stood affected towards him; and, finding it fair weather there, he resolved for England. But, before he went, he had a great mind to perform some notable exploit against the Hamiltons; and communicating his design to William Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, they two, at a day appointed, with their tenants and adherents, resolved to meet at Glasgow, and from thence to make an inroad into the county of Clydesdale, which all belonged to the Hamiltons. When the regent heard of this, he resolved to be beforehand with them, and so to seize upon Glasgow, and prevent the place of meeting; but Cunningham, with a great party of his men, entered the town before, and there expected the coming of Lennox; but hearing of Hamilton's approach, and of his design, he drew out his men into the adjoining fields, and according to the number of those he

had, set them in array. There were about 800 of them, part of his own clanship, and part of the citizens of Glasgow, who favoured his cause; and thus, with greater courage than force, he joined battle, and fought so valiantly, that he beat the first rank of the enemy back upon the second, and took the brass pieces they had brought with them. But whilst the fight was hot about the regent's quarter, and the matter was in great hazard there, on a sudden, Robert Boyd, a brave and valiant man, came in with a small party of horse, and thrust himself into the midst of the fight, where the hottest battle was. He occasioned a greater fear and tepridation than so small a number need to have done; for both armies believed, that great assistance was come to the Hamiltons. This mistake quite changed the fortune of the day, whilst one thought the assistance was come in to his party, the other to his enemies. There was slain in the battle about 300 on both sides; the greatest part was of the Cunninghams, and amongst them, two sons of the earl's, gallant men both. Neither was the victory unbloody to the Hamiltons, for they lost considerable persons on their side too. But the greatest mischief fell on the inhabitants of Glasgow; for the enemy, not contented with the blood of the townsmen which they had killed, nor with the miseries of those who survived, nor yet with the plunder of their houses, they even took away the folding-doors of their houses, and the shutters of their windows, and their iron-bars. Neither did they forbear inflicting upon them every kind of calamity, but only the firing of their houses, which were sadly torn and deformed with the ravage. The event of this battle wrought a great change in men's minds, so that Lennox's friends and kinsmen refused to venture the matter to the hazard of a second encounter; not so much because their enemy's force was increased, and theirs lessened; nor that, because, having lost so many valiant men, they could not speedily gather together a new supply from places so remote; as, that they were unwilling to give any new provocation to Hamilton, or by too much obstinacy to offend him farther, under whose government they knew they must shortly come.

Lennox, being thus deserted by the French, and the greatest part of the Scots too, made George Stirling governor of the castle of Dumbarton; and he himself, with a few of his company, sailed for England, against the advice of his best friends, who were willing he should have staid some months in that impregnable castle, and so waited for a new turn of affairs, which they doubted not would shortly come to pass. But he was resolved for England, where he was honourably received by the king, who, besides his other respects, gave him Margaret Douglas in marriage. She was sister to James, last king of Scotland, whom the earl of Angus had by the sister of Henry king of England; a lady in the flower

of her age, of great comeliness and beauty. In the mean time, the queen-dowager received into her protection that Scottish faction which, by the departure of Lennox, was left without an head, and which obstinately refused to come under the power of Hamilton, whose levity they knew before, and whose cruelty they now feared, for she was afraid that they might be enraged, in such an hurry of things, and so desperately engage in some new commotion.

The Hamiltons rejoiced at the departure of so potent an enemy; but not being satisfied with the punishments already inflicted, they used their prosperity very intemperately: for, in the next convention held at Linlithgow, they condemned him and his friends, confiscated their goods, and banished them the land. A great sum of money was raised out of the fines of those who redeemed their estates out of the exchequer, but not without great disgust, and the high offence of all good men. In the midst of these domestic seditions, the English entered Scotland, and committed great spoil and desolation on Jedburgh, Kelso, and the country thereabout. From thence they went to Coldingham, where they fortified the church and the tower, as well as they could for the time, by making works, and leaving a garrison, and so departed. The garrison-soldiers made great havoc in all the adjacent parts, partly out of greediness for plunder, and partly that the country thereabouts might not afford provisions to the enemy when they besieged them. They who ruled in Scotland, the queen-dowager, cardinal, and regent, by the advice of the council, put out a proclamation, That the noblemen, and the most discreet and able of the commons, should come in, with eight days provision, to march wherever the regent led them. In a short time, about 8000 met together, and in a very sharp winter too, who, having battered the tower of the church of Coldingham with their great guns, stood to their arms all that day and night, to the very great fatigue both of horse and man. The day after, the regent, either out of tenderness and inability to endure military toil, or fearing the invasion of the enemy, for he was informed that the English, from Berwick, a neighbouring town, were upon their march, unknown to the nobles, and with but a few in company, mounted on horseback, and with full speed fled back to Dunbar. They who endeavour to excuse the baseness of this flight, say, that he was afraid lest his army, out of hatred preconceived on many former accounts, would have delivered him up to the English. His departure occasioned a great disturbance in the whole army, and the rather, because the reason of his flight was unknown; and therefore many thought that it was the more considerable, and that they had greater reason to fear. This made some obstinately resolve to run home the near-

best way they could, and leave their guns behind them: others, who would seem a little more provident and stout, were for overcharging them, that so they might burst in pieces at a discharge, and become useless to the enemy: but Archibald earl of Angus withstood them all, telling them that they should not add so foul an offence to their base flight: but not being able to retain them, either by his authority or intreaty, he burst out into these words, with a loud voice, so that many might hear him: *As for me, said he, I had rather chuse any honourable death, than to enjoy my life, though in plenty and security, with the guilt of so foul an action. You, my friends and fellow-soldiers, consider what you will do: I am resolved either to bring back these guns, or never to return home alive; my honour and my life shall go together.* This speech affected some very few, whose honour was dearer to them than their lives; but the rest were so disheartened by the shameful flight of the regent, that they broke their ranks, and went every one his own way, in a scattered confused manner. Douglas sent the guns before, and he with his party followed in good order; and though he was pressed upon by the English horse, whom the tumult had excited, yet he brought the ordnance safe to Dunbar. This expedition, rashly undertaken, and as basely performed, discouraged abundance of the Scots, and raised up the English spirit to an intolerable height, as turning the cowardice of the regent to their own praise; and therefore Ralph Evers and Brian Laiton, two brave English cavaliers, over-ran all Merse, Teviot and Lauderdale, without any resistance, and made the inhabitants of those countries submit themselves, and if any were refractory, they wasted their lands, and made their habitations desolate; nay, the undisturbed course of their victories made them so resolute and insolent, that they propounded the bay of Forth to be the boundary of their conquest; and with this hope they went to London, and craved a reward from Henry for their good services. Their petition was referred to the council, and in the debate held about it, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, who had made many expeditions against the Scots, and had done them much mischief, understanding that, in that troublesome posture of affairs in Scotland it was no hard matter to over-run naked and unguarded countries, and to compel the commonalty, when they had no other refuge, to take an oath of fealty to them; and withal knowing the constancy of the Scots in maintaining their country, and their resolution in recovering it when lost; upon these considerations, it is reported, that he advised the king to give them all the land which they could win by the sword; and also to allow them a small force to defend it till the Scots were inured to the English government. This gift they willingly received, and the king as willingly gave: upon which, their vain boasting being as

vainly requited, they returned joyfully to the borders, having obtained 3000 soldiers in pay, besides the borderers, who are wont to serve without any military stipend. Their return mightily disturbed all the borderers, because they had no hopes of any help from the regent, in regard he was influenced in all his counsels by priests especially by the cardinal. Hereupon, Archibald earl of Angus, being much affected with the public disgrace, and also concerned upon the account of his own private losses, for he had large and fruitful possessions in Merse and Teviotdale, sent to the regent, to lay before him the greatness of their danger, and to beg of him to prevent it. The regent deplored his own solitude, and complained how he was deserted by the nobility. Douglas told him, it was his own, not the nobility's fault, for they were willing to spend their lives and fortunes for the good of the public; but he had slighted their advice, and was wholly governed by the priests, who were unwarlike abroad, and seditious at home; for they, being exempted from danger themselves, did abusively spend the fruits of other men's labours upon their own pleasures. 'This' said he, 'is the fountain from whence suspicions arise between you and the nobility, which, in regard you cannot trust one another, is a great hinderance to the public service. but, if you will communicate counsels and concernments with them, who will not refuse to lay down their lives in executing what shall be resolved upon, I do not despair, but we may yet perform as noble exploits as ever any of our ancestors did, in times equally, or at least not much less troublesome than the days we now live in. But if, by our own slothfulness, we suffer the enemy to conquer by piece-meal, he will quickly force us to a surrender or a banishment; and which of the two is more miserable and flagitious can hardly be determined. As for us two, I know I am accused by my enemies of treachery, and you of cowardice: but if you would do that speedily, which you are not able to avoid doing in the end, it is not a fine-spun oration, but it is the field of battle, and the edge of the sword, that must clear us of these imputations." The regent told him, he would be wholly guided by him and the nobles: upon which the council was summoned about an expedition; and by their advice a proclamation was published in all the neighbouring countries, that the whole nobility there should, with all the speed they could, repair to the regent wheresoever he should be; and they, the day after, with their present forces, which were not above 300 horse, marched for England. There came in to them some of the Lothianers and Merse-men, but not very many; so that when they reached Mulross upon Tweed, they resolved to stay there till more force came up to them. But the English, who were already got as far as Jedburgh, being informed by their

spies of the inconsiderable force of the enemy, marched with about 5000 men out of Jedburgh, directly towards Mulross, not doubting but that they should surprise the regent and his party unawares, being but few, and those also tired with their march.

But the Scots having advice from their scouts of the English, withdrew to the next hills, from thence in safety to behold what course the enemy would take. The English being thus disappointed of their hope, wandered up and down in the town and monastery of monks, which were pillaged a little before, being intent upon what prey they could find, and there they staid till break of day. As soon as it was light they were returning to Jedburgh, and the Scots having received a supply of almost 300 of the men of Fife, under the command of Norman Lesly, son of the earl of Rothes, a young man of such accomplishments, that he had not his match in all Scotland, grew from hence more encouraged, and so, with a slow march, they retired to the hills which lie about the town of Ancram: there Walter Scot, of whom mention is made before, an active and prudent person, came into them with but a few in his company, excusing the straitness of time, and telling them, That his whole party would be speedily with them; his advice was, that they should send their horse to the next hill, and so all of them run equal hazard on foot, and wait for the enemy on the low grounds; for he did not doubt but that their servants carrying up their horse to the higher grounds, would make the English believe they were running away, and that would occasion them to hasten their march. And accordingly, lest the Scots should get off without fighting, and be again to be sought out with a great deal of pains, before the night came, the English came up to them in three battalions; for they hoped to end the business with one light skirmish; and because their hopes were such, each one exhorted his fellow to make haste, though they had continued their march night and day before under their heavy arms, that so by a short toil they might get long rest, renown and glory. These exhortations added to their courage, as much as the toil of the march abated their strength, so that their two first battalions fell in amongst the Scots, who were prepared for the onset, as into an ambush; yet trusting to their number, they stood to their arms, and fought stoutly. But two things, wisely foreseen, were a great help to the Scots; for both the sun was almost at west and darted with its full beams in the faces of the enemy; and also the wind, which was somewhat high, carried back the smoke of the gunpowder upon the battalions behind, insomuch that they could not see their way; and besides, whilst they were panting, by reason of their march, it mightily troubled them with its noisome smell. The first battalion of the English fell back upon the se-

cond, the second on the third; where, by their intermixtures one with another, and the pressing of the Scots upon them, they all broke their ranks, and were driven back; so that all were so full of fear and terror, that none knew his own colours, or his captain. Thus, whilst every one provided for his own safety, no man remembered the public danger or disgrace. The Scots followed thick and close after them, so that now there was no more fighting but slaying. At night the Scots were called back to their colours, and taking a view of the slain, they lost only two of their own; of the English, besides commanders, there died about 200 soldiers, most of them persons of quality. There were about 1000 prisoners taken, and of them above 80 gentlemen. This victory happening beyond all men's expectation, was so much the more acceptable; the fruit and profit of it all redounded to the regent, but almost all the honour to the Douglasses.

About this time, by the fraud, as it is thought, of George Gordon, earl of Huntly, a quarrel arose, in which almost all the family of the Frazers was extinguished. There was betwixt them and MacRonald an old grudge, which had been often manifested to the loss of both parties; and Huntly was inwardly filled with indignation, that they alone, of all the neighbouring families, refused to come under his clanship. For, when the neighbour islanders gathered together what forces they could against the earl of Argyle, there was hardly any man in that tract of the country but bore arms on one side or other. But the matter being composed without blows, as they were returning, they severed from him another way: the MacRonalds having notice of it, got their clanships together, and set upon them most furiously; and the Frazers, being fewer in number, were overcome, and all slain to a man. And thus that numerous family, which had oft so well deserved of their country, had been wholly extinguished, unless by God's good providence (as we have reason to believe, 80 of the chief of the family had left their wives at home big with child, all of which, in due time, brought forth male children, and they all lived to man's estate.

At the same time the king of England heard that his army was beaten and wasted in Scotland, and that an ambassador was sent by the regent to the king of France, to acquaint him with the victory, and to desire aid of him against the demands and threats of the king of England; and likewise to inform against Lennox, in defamation of his departure into England. As for aid, he could scarce obtain any, because the French knew for certain, that Henry was just upon the point of passing over with great forces into France, only they sent 500 horse and 3,000 foot, not so much to defend the Scots from the incursions of the

English, as to hold them in play, that they might not fall with their whole strength upon France. Henry that summer did not think fit to send greater forces to the borders of Scotland, because he was of opinion that the garrisons were sufficient to restrain the excursions of the Scots; and besides, he knew well enough that the Scots; in such a perplexed state of their affairs, could not raise a great army that year to attack any well fortified places.

The Scottish ambassador in France raised some mean and pitiful objections against Lennox, in his absence, scarce worth the answering; as, That he had concealed the money sent to him: that, by reason of his dissensions with the cardinal, the cause of the public was betrayed; and as for his departure into England, he took special care to exaggerate that affair in a most individious manner. The king of France, who by means of false rumours had conceived such an anger against Lennox, that he would by no means admit of his clearing himself, or making the least apology against those calumnies; nay, he had imprisoned Lennox's brother, captain of his guards, without giving him a hearing. When the truth began a little to appear, he then indeed, as it were in excuse for his rash proceeding, sought some colour to hide it; and accordingly commanded an examination to be made of the crimes objected against Lennox. And the inquiry was committed to the care of James Montgomery of Lorge, commander of the French auxiliaries, a man active and good enough, but a bitter enemy to Lennox; it was put into his hands at the instance of the Guises, because they were not able to distinguish and separate the cause of their sister from the perfidiousness of the cardinal. Montgomery arrived with his French auxiliaries lately mentioned, in Scotland, on July the 3d, in the year 1545, where, by shewing the letters, and declaring the good intentions of the king of France towards them in the council, he obtained that an army should be levied, but only of the better sort, who were to bear the charges of the war; and they were to meet upon a short day. And accordingly, at the time appointed, there met 15,000 Scots at Haddington, and marched to the borders; they formed their camp over against Werk, a castle in England. From thence, almost every other day, they marched with their colours into England, and carried off a great deal of booty. The enemy endeavoured to resist their incursions, but in vain; they made some slight skirmishes, but without success; so that the Scots wasted all the country for six miles round. They continued this manner of action, for the space of ten days, never going so far into the enemies' country in the day-time, but that they could return back to their camp at night. In the interim, Montgomery and George Hume put it very earnestly to the regent

that he would remove his camp to the other side of the Tweed, so that they might make freer inroads upon the parts adjacent, and spread the terror of their arms to a greater distance; but all their solicitations were in vain: for the regent, and those of the council about him, were against it, because they were destitute of all necessities for storming of castles; so that they disbanded the army, and returned home. The rest took up their winter-quarters as every one thought fit; but Montgomery went to Stirling, to the court, where, knowing of the calumnies raised against Lennox by his enemies, though he was himself highly disgusted at him too, yet he rebuked the cardinal very severely; that, without any provocation on Lennox's part, he had loaded so noble and innocent a person with such calumnious imputations, and had compelled him, even against his will, to join with the enemy.

About the same time, inroads were made by both sides, on all parts of the borders, with very different events. Robert Maxwell, the son of Robert, a young gentleman of singular valour, was taken prisoner by the English; there was nothing memorable done besides. At the beginning of the following winter, Montgomery returned to France, and the cardinal carried about the regent with him through the neighbouring provinces, upon pretence to reconcile and heal the seditions and distempers of all parties. First, they came to Perth, where four men were punished for eating flesh on a day prohibited; and also a woman and her infant were both suffered to perish, because she refused to call upon the Virgin Mary for aid, at the time when she was in labour. Then they applied themselves to the overthrow of all the reformed universally: they went to Dundee, and, as themselves gave out, it was to punish such as read the New Testament; for in those days that was counted a most grievous sin; and such was the blindness of those times, that some of the priests, being offended at the novelty of the title, did contend, that the book was lately written by Martin Luther, and therefore they desired only the Old. There it was told them, that Patrick Gray, chief of a noble family in those parts, was coming with a great train, and the earl of Rothes with him. The tumult being appeased, the regent commanded both of them to come to him the day after; but the cardinal, thinking it not safe to admit two such potent and factious persons, with so great a train, into that town, which was the only one highly addicted to the reformed religion, persuaded the regent to return to Perth. The noblemen, when they were ready for their journey, hearing in the morning that the regent was gone to Perth, they immediately, upon the first notice, followed him thither; and when they came in sight of the town, the cardinal was so afraid, that, to gratify him, the regent commanded them to enter severally and apart; and the

next day after, they were both committed to prison; yet Rothes was soon released, but Gray was delivered with more difficulty afterwards, because he was more hated and feared by them. Before they went from thence, the cardinal thought good to abate the power of Ruthven, mayor of the city; so that the regent took away the mayoralty from him, and gave it to the laird Kinfans, a neighbour laird, Gray's kinsman. Ruthven was hated by the cardinal, because he favoured the reformed religion; and as for Gray, he was not wholly averse to the reformed neither, nor yet any great friend of the cardinal's. By this means the cardinal did not doubt, but, if they two fell out, many of the neighbouring parts would join themselves to each of them, in regard of their being derived from such illustrious families, and having each numerous domestics; and so the more of them fell on either side, the fewer enemies he should have left alive.

Thus the mayoralty of Perth, which for many years had continued as hereditary in the family of the Ruthvens, was translated to Charters; laird of Kinfans, to the mighty great indignation of the citizens; who took it much amiss, that their ancient freedom of voting in their assemblies, was taken away: but the new mayor was sent to bring them to a sense of obedience by force, if they offered to resist. The design was to assault the city in two places. Gray, who had taken the whole matter upon his single self, attacked it from the bridge over the river Tay. The other party were to carry their guns up the stream, and so to storm the open side of the town; but because the tide hindered them, they did not come up in time. Gray makes his attempt from the bridge (from which Ruthven had purposely withdrawn his guards into the next houses, that so it might seem to the enemy as if it was undefended) and when he saw none in arms to oppose him, he boldly marched up into the town; upon which Ruthven sallied out of the adjoining houses on a sudden, and gave him a brisk charge, which routed him and his whole party; but in their flight through narrow passages, one hindered another; for the last, striving to gain the mouth of the passage, gave a stop to the first; and in this confusion many were trod to death, and sixty fell by the sword. The cardinal, when he knew that Ruthven had got the victory, was a little concerned at it; yet glad however, that so many of his enemies were destroyed; for as he despaired ever to make them his friends, so he counted it a gain to him to see them mutually destroy one another. The cardinal having thus passed over as much of Angus as he thought convenient at that time, brought the regent, after the winter solstice, to St. Andrews, to endear his mind still more and more to him, if possible; for though he had his son, the earl of Arran, as a pledge, yet as often as he meditated upon the fierceness of the Scottish nobility,

and the strength of the opposite faction, and the inconstancy of the regent; he was afraid that he might be persuaded by his enemies, and so wrought over to them with the same levity, as he had first joined himself with him. There he entertained him, with a small retinue, with sports and pastimes twenty days at Christmas. He gave him many gifts to please him for the present, and promised him more for the future; and, after much discourse together, concerning the state of the kingdom, he came a little more secure to Edinburgh.

There a convocation of priests was held, Jan. 13. In that assembly many things were debated concerning the retaining of the old liberty of the church, and the punishment of the enormous crimes of some priests; but, in the midst of their debates, before they could conclude of any thing, news was brought to them, that George Wishart, a preacher of the gospel, one very acceptable to the people, was entertained at the house of a noble person, called John Cockburn, about seven miles from the city. They presently detached a party of horse thither, to demand the offender: but Cockburn alleged several things in excuse, on purpose to create some delays, that so he might have an opportunity to convey him away secretly; of which the cardinal being informed, posted thither with the regent, even in the dead time of the night, and beset all the avenues of the house; and yet his promises, flatteries, and threats, prevailed not at all, till he sent for the earl of Bothwell out of the next district. He, being the chief of all the Lothianers, with some difficulty obtained that George should be delivered up to him; but first he passed his word, that no harm or damage should come to him. The priests, having now gotten this prey into their hands, carried him from Edinburgh to St. Andrews; and there, about a month after, they assembled a great company of the ecclesiastics of all sorts, to determine concerning his doctrine. This was done to blind men's eyes with the pretence of a judicatory, and of a legal proceeding; for all men knew what they would determine concerning him before-hand. By the consent of them all, the cardinal, by his letters, desired the regent to give out his mandate for a civil judge to sit upon the offender (for he himself, by the pope's canon law, could not sit upon the life or death of any man) that so he, that was already judged an heretic by the priests, might be also sentenced to death by the secular power. The regent was not likely to have made any scruple in granting his request, but that David Hamilton of Preston, his kinsman, had interposed and kept him back, who sometimes advised, and sometimes intreated, threatened, and chid him, in order to stop the process against George. The sum of his discourse is supposed to be this: "That he very much wondered upon what account the regent should vest so great an authority in

any man, against the servants of God, who had no other crime objected against them, but that of preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ; and especially should deliver them up to such, whose wretched lives and brutish cruelty made them quite careless what torments they put an innocent man to, whose integrity of life his very enemies were forced to confess, even against their will; and for his learning, he himself knew it to be great. That further, he himself had been formerly a great favourer of him and it. It was by his commendation, that he was advanced to the supreme magistracy; and also that he had given forth edicts to declare his assent to his doctrine publicly, and had undertaken to defend it; nay, he had exhorted all in general, and each man in particular, to read, and understand, practise and exemplify it in their hearts and lives. Consider therefore with yourself, said he, what will men think; what will men say of you? Consider the mercies God Almighty hath bestowed upon you? The king, an active man, and your enemy, was taken away, who walked in the very same steps you now tread. They who brought him to ruin by their advice, are at this minute doing their utmost endeavour to destroy you. They have opposed you from the beginning with the weight of all their power; and now they seek with fraudulent counsel, to ensnare and undo you. Call to mind, Sir, the victory given you over your subjects without bloodshed, and over your enemies too, though having much greater force than yourself, to your great renown, and their deserved ignominy. Remember for whose sake you thus desert God, and oppose your and his friends. Awake, I beseech you, and dispel that mist, which wicked and ill-designing men have cast before your eyes; remember Saul king of Israel, how he was raised up from a low to a sovereign estate, and how many blessings he received from God, as long as he was obedient to his law; but when he slighted and turned aside from his commands, how miserably was he punished? Compare the success of your affairs, from the beginning to this very day, with his prosperities; and, unless you alter the course of your designs, expect no happier issue, nay, rather a worse end than he; for he designed the same projects which you are now upon, and that to gratify some base varlets, who can neither hide their open wickedness, nor do so much as endeavour to dissemble them."

The regent was affected at the advice of his friend, and writ back an answer to the cardinal, that he should not precipitate the process, but let the whole matter lie dormant, till he came himself; for he was not willing to consent to the condemnation of the man, till he had more diligently inquired into his cause; and, if the cardinal did otherwise, the man's blood should light on his head;

for he testified by those letters, that he himself was entirely clear from it.

The cardinal was unexpectedly surprised with this answer; he knew well enough, that if delays were made in the case, the prisoner would be delivered, as being a popular man; and besides he would not suffer the thing to be brought to a debate, partly because by fair dispute he had no hopes to prevail, and partly because the man having been already condemned by the ecclesiastical councils and canons, he would have no recognition made; so that he was angry to a degree of rage, and persisted in the resolution he had taken. And his reply was, that he did not write to the regent, as if he had not sufficient authority independently of him, but for a shew of common consent, that his name might be to the condemnation. Upon that, George was brought out of prison, and John Windram, a learned man, and an hearty (though secret) favourer of the cause of religion, was commanded to mount a kind of pulpit there erected, and to preach. He took his text out of Mat. xiii. which says, that *the good seed is the word of God, but the evil seed is heresy*. In his discourse, defining heresy, he said, it was a false opinion, evidently repugnant to the holy scriptures, and maintained with obstinacy; and that it was occasioned, and also supported and fostered, by the ignorance of the pastors of the church, who did not know how either to convince heretics, or to reduce those who were gone astray, by the spiritual sword, which is the word of God. Afterwards he explained the duty of a bishop, out of the epistle to Timothy, and shewed that there was only one way to find out heresy, which was to bring it to the test of the word of God. At length, when he had finished his discourse, though what he spoke made against the priests who were there assembled, not to refute heresies, but to punish those who opposed their licentious arrogance; yet, as if all things went well on their side, they haleth forth George to a pulpit or scaffold, built in the church; that so they might observe their accustomed form in judgment. Over against him there was another pulpit, which John Lauder, a popish priest, mounted; and the rest stood all about him, as it were to judge. But there was not the least appearance of judgment, or of a free dispute in the case; for the accuser thundered out many odious and abominable slanders, such as are wont to be commonly forged against the preachers of the reformed religion, with mighty bitter expressions. And thus having spent some hours, George was brought back again to the castle, and lodged in the governor's chamber, spending great part of his time that night in prayer. The next morning the bishops sent two Franciscans to him, to acquaint him that his death was at hand, and to know whether they should confess him, as is usual in such cases. He told them, he had nothing to do with friars, nor had

any mind to discourse them; but if they were willing to gratify him in that one point, then he desired to confer with that learned man who preached the day before. Accordingly the bishops gave him leave to go to the castle, and George had a long discourse with Windram, who, after he had ceased weeping (which, for a while, he could not refrain) very friendly demanded of him, whether he would receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper? With all my heart, said George, if I may receive it under both kinds of bread and wine, according to Christ's institution. Windram returned to the bishops, and told them, that George very solemnly professed, that he was innocent of the crime of which he was accused; which he spoke not to deprecate his death now at hand, but only to testify his innocency before men, as it was before sufficiently known to God. The cardinal was much enraged; *Ab*, says he, *we know well enough what you are*. Being further demanded, whether he would admit him to receive the sacrament? he talked a little with the bishops, and with their consent made answer, that *it was not fit that a stubborn heretic, condemned by the church, should enjoy any benefits of the church*. That answer being returned to him, about nine o'clock the friends and officers of the governor of the castle sat down to breakfast; they asked George whether he would eat with them? *Very willingly*, said he, *and much more so than in former times, because I perceive you are good men, and fellow-members with me of the same body of Christ; and because I know, that this is the last meal I shall eat on earth*. And for you (speaking to the governor of the castle) *I desire you, in the name of God, and for that love which you bear to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that you will sit down a while with us, and vouchsafe me the hearing, whilst I give you a short exhortation, and so pray over this bread, which, as brethren in Christ, we are about to eat, and then I will bid you heartily farewell*. In the interim the cloth was laid (according to custom) and bread set on, when George made a brief and clear discourse for about half an hour, concerning Christ's last supper, his sufferings and death. But above all, he exhorted them to lay aside anger, envy, and malice, and to have mutual love impressed on their minds; that so they might become perfect members of Christ, who daily intercedes for us with his Father, that our sacrifice might be accepted by him to eternal life. When he had thus spoken, he gave thanks, and then broke the bread, and gave to every one a little piece, and then the wine, after he himself had drank, in the same manner, intreating them to remember the death of Christ now in the last sacrament with him; as for himself, a bitterer portion was prepared for him, for no other reason but his preaching the gospel. And then, having again given thanks, he returned to his chamber, and concluded his prayer. A while after, two executioners were

sent to him by the cardinal, one of them put a black linen shirt upon him, and the other bound many little bags of gun-powder to all the parts of his body. In this dress they brought him forth, and commanded him to stay in the governor's outer chamber. And at the same time they erected a wooden scaffold in the court before the castle, and made up a pile of wood. The windows and balconies over-against it were all hung with tapestry and silk hangings, with cushions for the cardinal and his train, to behold and take pleasure in the joyful sight, even the torture of an innocent man; thus courting the favour of the people, as the author of so notable a deed. There was also a great guard of soldiers, not so much to secure the execution, as for a vain ostentation of power; and besides, brass guns were placed up and down in all convenient places of the castle. Thus whilst the trumpets sounded, George was brought forth, mounted the scaffold, and was fastened with a cord to the stake; and having scarce obtained liberty to pray for the church of God, the executioners fired the wood, which immediately taking hold of the powder that was tied about him, blew it up into flame and smoke. The governor of the castle, who stood so near that he was singed with the flame, exhorted him in a few words to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of God for his offences. To whom he replied, *This flame occasions trouble to my body indeed, but it hath in no ways broken my spirit: but he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place (pointing to the cardinal) shall, ere long, be as ignominiously thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his ease.* Having thus spoken, they straitened the rope, which was tied about his neck, and so strangled him. His body, in a few hours being consumed to ashes in the flame, the bishops being yet mad with hate and rage, forbade every body, upon great penalties, to pray for the deceased.

After this fact, the cardinal was highly commended by his faction, and extolled to the very skies, that he alone, when others declined it, had slighted the authority of the regent, and performed so noble an exploit, whereby he had curbed popular insolency, and had courageously undertaken, and as happily managed the defence of the whole ecclesiastical order. If the church had formerly had (said they) such strenuous assertors of its liberties, it would never have been brought to that pass, as it is at this day, *i. e.* to truckle under; but it would have given law to all, and received it from none. This luxuriant and superlative joy of the priests, for their obtained victory, rather irritated than discouraged the minds, not only of the promiscuous vulgar, but even of some great and noble persons too. They fretted that things were come to that pass by their own pusillanimity and cowardice; and now they thought some bold thing or other was to be attempted

and hazarded, or else they must remain slaves for ever. Led by this same motive, more company came in to them, whose grief forced them to break out into complaints against the cardinal. So they encouraged one another, to rid the cardinal out of the way, and either to recover their liberty, or lose their lives. For what hope of thriving, said they, can there be under so arrogant a priest, and so cruel a tyrant, who makes war against God, as well as man, and those, not his enemies only, as were all such as had estates, or were any way pious; but for a small grudge, he will hale a man as a hog out of the sty, to be sacrificed to his lusts. And besides, he is a public encourager and maintainer of war, both at home and abroad; and, in his private capacity he mixeth the love of harlots with lawful marriages. Legitimate wedlock he dissolves at pleasure; at home he wallows in lust among his minions, and abroad he ravages to destroy the innocent. The cardinal, though he did not distrust his own power, yet knowing how people stood affected towards him, and what reports were spread up and down concerning him, thought it his best way to strengthen his power, by making what additions he could, one way or other. For this end he went to Angus, and married his eldest daughter to the son of the earl of Crawford. The marriage was solemnized in great state, and almost with a royal magnificence. Whilst these things were in agitation, he received intelligence by his spies, that the king of England was making great naval preparations to infest the Scottish coasts, but especially the inhabitants of Fife, whom he threatened most. And as soon as he received these advices, he returned to St. Andrews, and there appointed a day for the nobles, especially those whose estates lay near the sea, to meet, and consult in common, what remedy to apply to the present evil. And, to do it more effectually, he determined to take a view of all the sea-coasts, together with the owners of the lands, and so in a manner go a circuit about all Fife; and to fortify all convenient places, and to put garrisons into them. Amongst the rest of the noblemen's sons who came in to the cardinal, Norman Lesly, son to the earl of Rothes, was one, of whom I have made mention several times before: he had done great and eminent services for the cardinal, but, on a time, there fell out a dispute between them concerning a private business, which made them cold to one another, and strangers for a while; but Norman, for great promises made to him, quitted his right to the matter in contest. After a few months, coming to demand of the cardinal the performance of what was promised him, they came from a plain to a pretty warm discourse, and afterwards to downright railing, uttering such reproachful words one to another, as misbecame them both. And thus they parted in a great rage, the cardinal fretting that

he was not treated with that deference which he thought due to his dignity; and Norman, full of wrath, as being circumvented by fraud; so that he returned home with thoughts full of revenge, and inveighed openly amongst his friends against the intolerable pride of the cardinal; insomuch that they all agreed to take away his life: and that the matter might pass with the less suspicion, Norman, with five only in his company, came to St. Andrews, and took up his usual inn, that so the design of cutting him off might be concealed, by reason of the small retinue he had with him. There were ten more in the town privy to the conspiracy, who all, in several places, expected the watchword. With this small company did he undertake so great an enterprize, and that in a town which was full of the cardinal's train, relations, and attendants. The days were then very long, as they use to be in those countries towards the end of the spring, viz. about May 7. And the cardinal was fortifying his castle for his defence, in so great haste, that the workmen continued at it almost night and day; so that when the porter, early in the morning, opened the gates to let in the workmen. Norman had placed two of his men in ambush in an house hard by, who were to seize the porter; and when they had made themselves masters of the gate, they were to give a sign agreed on to the rest; by this means they all entered the castle without any noise, and sent four of their number to watch the cardinal's chamber-door, that no tidings might be carried in to him: others were appointed to go to the chambers of the rest of the household, to call them up, for they well knew both the men and the place; them they roused up, being half asleep, and calling them all by their names, they threatened immediately to kill them, if they made but the least outcry; so that they led them all in profound silence out of the castle, without doing them any hurt at all. When all the rest were turned out, then they alone were masters of the castle; and then those who watched at the cardinal's door knocked at it; being asked their names, they told them, and were immediately let in, having, as some write, passed their words, that they would do no harm; and when they were entered, they dispatched the cardinal, having given him many wounds. In the mean time, a noise was spread about the town, that the castle was taken; insomuch that the cardinal's friends, half drunk and half asleep, tumbled out of their beds, and cried out, *Arm*. Thus to the castle they posted, and called out with threatening and opprobrious words for ladders, other things they also brought necessary for a storm. They who saw them out of the castle, that they might blunt the present impetuosity of their minds, and call back their mad spirits to consider themselves, demanded why they made such a bustle, for the man was dead

whom they sought to rescue? And with that word they threw the dead body out in the sight of them all; even out at that very place, where before he had exultingly beheld the execution of George Wishart.

Whereupon many reflected within themselves upon the inconstancy of human affairs, and that unexpected event. Many also were affected with the prediction of George Wishart, concerning his death, which then came into their minds; and many other things also, which that holy man had foretold, not without the special inspiration of God's Spirit, as we have cause to believe, and as the event soon after made appear. The cardinal's friends and kinsmen, quite astonished at this unexpected sight, soon skulked away. When the matter was divulged all over the kingdom, men's minds were variously affected, as they either hated or loved the cardinal; some thought it a brave, others an impious action. Many being in a different way of worship from him, and living in deadly fear of him, others offended at his intolerable arrogance, did not only approve the fact, but came to congratulate the committers of it, as the restorers of their ancient liberties; and some ventured their lives and fortunes in their quarrel. The court was terribly alarmed at the news, as having lost part of their council; but, by the advice of those which were present, they sent forth a proclamation, that the murderers should come in within six days, to give sureties to answer matters at a day which was to be nominated for that purpose: but they had a strong castle over their heads, and in it all the cardinal's money and his household-stuff; and besides, they had the regent's eldest son with them, who was given in hostage to the cardinal, as is related before; so that they gave no credit to the promises of their enemies, whose levity and perfidiousness they had sufficient experience of before, and therefore they refused to hearken to any conditions of peace, and for that reason they were out-lawed. Thus the matter was protracted, partly by the threats and vain promises of the one party and the diffidence of the other, from the month of May till the fifth of November, and then the regent, at the importunity of the queen-mother and the revilings and clamours of the priests, took arms, and lay three whole months before the castle, battering it with his brass guns; but in the fourth month, almost at the end of winter, he dismissed his army, without carrying the place, and went to Edinburgh, to be present at the convention of estates, which he had before summoned to be held in February.

They who held the castle being thus out of all fear of their enemy, did not only make frequent excursions into the neighbouring parts, and commit depredations with fire and sword all round; but, as if the liberty gotten by their arms was to be spent

in whoredoms, adulteries, and such vices, they ran into all the wickedness which idle persons are subject to; for they measured right or wrong by no other rule but their own lust; neither could they be reclaimed by John Knox, who then came to them, and often warned them, that God would not be mocked, but would take severe punishments on those, who were violators of his laws, even by those whom they least dreamed of; yet his exhortations could not stop the course of their impiety.

Besides this domestic mischief raging even in the very bowels of the kingdom, which added extremely to it was a war with England: For the English had passed over the Solway with their forces, and put the people in a terrible panic fear. They were not contented with the pillage and prey, but they fired some places, took some strong holds, and put garrisons in them. Neither were matters quieter in the other parts of the borders; Robert Maxwell, upon whom the greatest part of the storm fell, came to Edinburgh, to solicit for aid, when almost all was lost: He alleged, that the country was made desolate; that their castles were taken and kept by their enemies; that the husband-man was driven from his habitation, and forced to live in much want, on the charity of his friends; and that they suffered all this, because they would not change nor forfeit their allegiance to their king. But, if no course was taken for their releif, in some short time, their miseries would compel them to give themselves to the English; and so would their neighbours too, for fear they should undergo the like. This complaint was the cause that aid was promised him to recover his own; and the regent marching his army thither, formed his camp by the river Meggat. There the cardinal's friends earnestly desired of him to call George Lesly, Norman's father, who was then in the camp, to his answer, and not to carry so potent a man with him, as his companion in the war, whose faith was suspected, or rather who was an open enemy. The earl, though the time and place did not favour it, yet was willing immediately to put himself on his trial: Upon that, the names of the judges or jury were (according to custom, which I have elsewhere mentioned) impannelled, and none of them excepted against by the adverse party; yet by all their votes he was acquitted. From thence they marched to the castle of Langham, and drove out the English there; and as they were resolved to attempt other forts, they were recalled by a sudden message. For news was brought them, that the French fleet was seen not far from the promontory of St. Abb, consisting of one and twenty ships. The regent, imagining what the matter was, that they were come to besiege the castle of St. Andrews (as had been agreed between them) marched joyfully home: There he discoursed Leon Strozzy, admiral of the French fleet; and they both agreed to lay close

siege to the castle: which they did with such wonderful dispatch, that many of the garrison-soldiers who were abroad, could not come in, and many country-men who had no hand in the conspiracy, but occasionally came into the castle about their private affairs, could not get out. They planted their brass guns upon the towers of two churches, which stood near on both sides the castle, which so annoyed the whole court within the castle-walls that no man durst stir out of his house without manifest danger of his life. And afterwards they brought larger pieces of ordnance, and played upon part of the wall, which stood between two towers: And that was soon battered down, because the latter buildings were not at all cemented with the former; mighty was the noise of its downfall. When this happened, they within, who before trusted to their fortifications, and were ready to expose themselves at all adventures to stop any breach, began now to be afraid; and calling together a council of war, because they feared the regent's cruelty (most apt to rage in feeble minds) on the account of his kinsman's death, they surrendered the castle and themselves to Leon Strozzy, only upon quarter for life. Then Leon sent in his men to pillage the castle; where were found, besides a great quantity of provisions of all sorts, all the cardinal's money and household-stuff, and all the wealth of the garrison-soldiers, and of many others also, who had laid up their goods there, as in a place of refuge: There also they found the regent's son, who was before given in hostage by his father to the cardinal; and when he was slain, was detained there. The castle was demolished by advice and order of council; and a few days after, Leon set sail with his prisoners for France. These things came to pass in August 1547.

About the same time news was brought, that the English had prepared great forces both by land and sea, to invade Scotland, and to demand the performance of the treaty, which was made four years before with the regent, concerning the marriage of the queen of Scotland to the king of England's son. This sudden report mightily affected the regent, who was faint-hearted enough of himself, for he had then no foreign aid, neither did he much confide in his own forces: For the papal faction were offended at his levity, and the friends of exiled Lennox, having been cruelly treated by him, retained the seeds of their old hatred against him; yet upon his proclamation, there came in great numbers to Edinburgh. From thence they marched to the mouth of the river Esk, which runs through Lothian, and there waited the approaches of the English. In the mean time the Scottish horse rode up towards the enemy in their march, and challenged them to fight. by this means creating some trouble to them in their passage: but the English general, who knew that the Scots were better than

his own men at such tumultuary skirmishes, had given command, that none of his troops should march out to encounter them. At last, upon the inportunity of Gray, commander of the horse, he was persuaded to send out some troops of horse well-armed, and of cuirassiers, that should suddenly rush in upon them, when they were unprepared for resistance. The Scots grown fearless of the enemy, but now astonished at the sudden onset, broke their ranks, and fled for their lives, and about 800 of them were either slain or taken: Of the English also, who pressed too eagerly on the pursuit, several were taken prisoners, amongst which were some eminent horse-officers.

From that day forward there was no remarkable action performed by the Scottish horse. The English had their camp at the town of Preston, a little more than a mile from them. From thence they might behold the number of the Scottish army from the high ground, and perceiving them to be more than they had thought, they advised what course to take, and resolved to send letters to the Scots, that so, if just and equal conditions might be agreed upon, the matter might be ended rather by treaty, than by force. The contents of the letters were: "They earnestly desired the Scots to remember, first, that both armies professed the Christian religion, to whom therefore, unless they renounced their profession, nothing ought to be more dear than peace and tranquillity, and nothing more to be abhorred than arms and war upon an unjust foot: That the cause of the present war was not covetousness, hatred, or envy, but a desire of perpetual peace, which could be no ways so firmly cemented, as by marriage, which had been already promised by the public decree and consent of all the estates, and ratified by a league, and that on such conditions as were more advantageous to the Scots than English; not to reduce them to a state of servitude, but to a joint society of life, and participation and communion of all their fortunes; which marriage would be so much the more beneficial to the Scots than to the English, as the weaker side hath reason to hope for more advantages, and to apprehend more injuries from the stronger. And, at the present, in casting up accounts of things, you are first to consider the case, that it is very necessary your queen should marry; that necessity is inevitable, and a hard matter to order it well; that the sole power of chusing her a husband was left to the estates. If they would chuse a husband upon the account of dignity and public advantage, whom could they pitch upon better, than a neighbouring king, born in the same island, allied in blood; instituted in the same laws; educated in the same manners and language, and superior, not in power alone, but in all external ornaments and accessions of dignity? And besides, this marriage would bring with it a perpetual concord, and an ob-

lition of old resentments. But if they had any thoughts of bringing in a stranger amongst them, to govern the kingdom, that differed from them in language, laws, and customs, they should consider how many inconveniencies were lodged in the womb of that design, which they might easily foresee by the examples of other nations; and it were better so to do, than to learn it by trial and feeling the smart of it. As for themselves, if they found the spirit of the Scots not wholly averse from an agreement, they were ready to remit something of the rigour of law and right; and that they would be content the young queen should be educated under Scottish guardians, till she came to be marriageable, and fit, by the advice of the nobles, to chuse an husband for herself; and, till that time came, both sides should abstain from war and rapine; and that the queen should not be transported beyond sea, nor that any treaty should be entertained by the Scots, concerning her marriage with the French, or any other foreign prince. If the Scots would faithfully promise this, they would presently depart and withdraw their forces; and as for what damage they had done since they entered Scotland, they would make such restitution, as indifferent men should award."

These letters were brought to the regent, who communicated them to his brother John, archbishop of St. Andrews, whom he had assumed into the place and authority of the cardinal, and to some few others: They, in hopes of a sure victory, gave him advice to suppress them; for they were afraid that, if the equity of the proposals were made known, the Scots would be taken off, and hearken to terms of peace; and therefore they gave out, thro' the whole army, that the English were come on purpose to take away their queen by force, and to reduce the land to their own subjection. And the regent, being naturally unactive, had chosen four, no more versed in military affairs than himself, who did turn and wind all things at their pleasure: Those were his three kinsmen and allies, John his brother, archbishop of St. Andrews and abbot of Dunfermline, George Dury, Alexander Beton, and the fourth was Hugh Riggs a lawyer, noted more for his large body, corpulency, and bulky strength, than for any military skill. These men did so puff up the regent with the vain hope of victory, that, being of himself inconstant and variable in his designs at every blast of wind, he shut his ears against the advice of all others. This being so, when the regent's private favourites had caused the report, which they themselves had raised, to be spread all over the army, they ran hastily and unanimously to their arms. Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, led the van: George Gordon, earl of Huntly brought up the rear: each of them had 10,000 fighting men: and the regent had about the same number in the main battle. In this posture, a report was sud-

denly raised, that the English were fled away; and it was not altogether without ground, for they, wanting provision, and not being able to fetch it from far, nor to forage for it in the neighbourhood, which was so unfurnished before, thought it the best way to preserve themselves, if they left part of their baggage behind them, and retreated by long marches; but, having so many armed men ready to engage, seeing they durst not come down into the champaign, nor could deceive the enemy by going about, they waited his coming on the higher ground. On the other side, the regent was impatient of delay, and sent word to Douglas to march on with speed; but he, knowing that the English could not long keep their ground for want of provision, waiting to fall on their rear, made no great haste, till he was stirred up by another messenger from the regent: Then, and not before, he passed over the river, and the main battle and the rear following at a great distance. The English, who were about to depart, perceiving Douglas to draw towards them upon the speed, sent out Gray, commander of the horse, with his whole body to meet him, and stop his career, till the foot had possessed themselves of a neighbouring hill; or, if he saw cause, he was to disturb them in their ranks; for, seeing the major part of them were armed after the French mode, they thought the Scots would never be able to bear the brunt of their charge. But a brigade of the Scots, marching in close order together, holding forth their stand of long pikes before them, as a fence, received the assault. There the van of the English running in upon, and intangling themselves amongst the pikes, the rest thought themselves ambuscadoed, and so returned to their body, telling them, that the Scots ranks could no more be broken, than if they charged against a wall. Upon that, the English horse were about to leave the foot, and fly; but, by the persuasion of their commanders, and their mutual encouraging one another, and withal, hoping for a more advantageous ground to fight on, they were retained, and renewed their ranks. The Scots were held from marching forward to the opposite hill, chiefly upon this account, because they perceived Jambo, a Spaniard, with some troops of his countrymen, harquebusiers, coming down obliquely from the hills, as if he would fall on their flank; and therefore, that no sudden emergency might cause them to divide their brigade, and also that they might not be attacked on their flanks, they wheeled about leisurely from the right ascent of the hill. The main battle, when they saw the van leaving their station, thought that they were running away, and so they broke their ranks too, and betook themselves to flight. The English seeing this from the high grounds, sent out their horse, and trode many of them under foot in the pursuit. During all this march from Esk to the English camp, the English

navy played upon the flank of the Scots out of their ships, and did them much mischief. All the ways were strawed with arms, by reason of the great slaughter which was made; and numbers of them likewise were drowned in the river. The English were most severe against the priests and the monks; (for those of that tribe, who were lusty and able to bear arms, came into the field) and there were many who imputed the loss of the day to them, who had arrogantly refused honest conditions of peace, and who, if they had the victory, would have used it as cruelly towards their own countrymen, as their enemies. In the first charge, the English lost about 200 horse, but of the Scots there fell the prime of all the noblest families, with their relations and tenants, who counted it the vilest and most wicked thing in nature to desert them; and many were taken in the pursuit. The Highlanders gathered themselves together in a round body, kept their ranks, and returned safe home. At first they marched through craggy places, and inconvenient for the horse; and, if they were sometimes necessitated to descend into the plains, yet the English horse, who followed the pursuit in a scattered way, durst not attack them. This battle, amongst a few others, was very calamitous to the Scots. It was fought the 10th of September, in the year 1547. The English having got the victory, which was so much the more joyful, because it was unexpected, marched five miles further with all their forces; and there they staid eight days, sending out parties every day six miles round, who burned and destroyed all within that compass. They attempted nothing considerable besides, saving the fortifying the desolate islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, in the bay of Forth; and in the bay of Tay they took the castle of Brochty; and in their return by land, they took by surrender the castles of Fastcastle and Hume, which the garrisons surrendered out of fear; and they raised forts, one at Lauder, and another in the ruins of Roxburgh castle.

Their sudden departure gave some relief to the Scots, and a breathing time for them to meet together, to consult about the main chance. The regent, presently after the fight, came with that part of the nobles which were with him, to the two queens at Stirling, and to the nobility attending there. The regent and his brother were very sad and dejected for the calamity which happened by their fault, and the queen-dowager shewed many outward signs of grief in her speech and countenance; but they who knew her heart, judged that she was not so much concerned to see the arrogance of the Hamiltons so curbed and chastised; but, to be joyous in a public calamity, they who use to cover the faults of princes under honest disguises, are wont to call greatness of mind. Besides, the dowager, ever since the death of the cardinal, had used all ways and means to throw the regent out of his office, and

to invest the supreme authority in herself; but she knew she could never effect it, as long as they were uppermost, and had all fortified places in their hands. In all her discourse she heightened the fear she had from the English, and complained of the weakness of her own domestic forces, and propounded the dangers imminent from the civil dissensions amongst them. She communicated her mind to those, who she knew were ill-affected to the Hamiltons. When the nobles were in consultation about the grand affairs of the kingdom, a decree was made, that the young queen should reside at Dumbarton, whilst the nobility debated concerning the estate of the kingdom. John Erskine was made her governor, an unquestionable favourer of the queen-dowager's faction, and William Livingston, a friend to the Hamiltons, was joined in commission with him. Ambassadors were likewise sent into France, to demand aids of their king, Henry, against their common enemy, according to the league made with him. Hopes were also given them, that the queen would come over into France, and marry the dauphin. But the French were intent upon their own affairs, and their auxiliaries were slower than the present danger required.

In the mean time the English entered Scotland on both sides of the borders. The earl of Lennox, as if he had been sent for by his friends, came to Dumfries; for his father-in-law Angus, and his old friend Glencairn, had promised him 2000 horse, and foot proportionable, of the neighbouring parts to assist him, if he would leave the English and come over to them. But, when he came to the place at the day appointed, there were hardly 300 come together, and those too were such as used to live on robberies. These, and some other things of the like nature, being very suspicious, and especially the wavering mind of John Maxwell, who had already given hostages to the English, made Lennox believe that he was betrayed; and therefore he resolved to circumvent his enemies with the like fraud. He retained with him Glencairn, John Maxwell, and other chief men of the Scots, who had treated with him concerning his transition and return into his own country, and in the middle of the night commanded toward Drumlanark 600 horse, part English, and part of the Scots who had yielded to them. When they came to the appointed place, 500 of them were sent out to commit what spoil they could in the neighbouring parts, that so they might draw out James Douglas, owner of the castle, into an ambush. He, imagining such a thing, kept within his hold till it was day; and then, being out of fear of an ambush, he marched out with his men, and passed over the river Nith, and pressed in a straggling manner upon the plunderers, charging them in their rear as they were retreating. They, having got a convenient time and place to rally, turned back upon

him with great violence, and struck such a terror into his men, in the straits of a ford, that they disordered their ranks, killed some, and took many considerable prisoners. This light expedition struck such a terror in the greatest part of Galloway, that they strove which of them should yield first to the English, partly to gratify Lennox, and partly fearing lest, being forsaken by their neighbours, they should lie open to all assaults. The Scottish regent fearing lest, in such a general confusion, if he did attempt nothing, he should altogether dispirit his men, who were discouraged enough before, besieged the castle of Brochty; and, having lain before it almost three months without performing any thing considerable, he drew off his men, leaving only 100 horse, under the command of John Haliburton, an active young man, to infest the neighbouring places, and to hinder any provisions from being carried in by land to Brochty, or to the garrison which the English had placed on an hill adjoining. These matters passed at the end of that year. In the beginning of the next, which was 1548, the English fortified Haddington, a town in Lothian, upon the Tyne, and burned the villages, and plundered the country about, which was one of the richest parts of Scotland; and they formed another garrison at Lauder.

Lennox, about the end of February, having passed over the west border, hardly escaped an ambush laid for him by part of those who had yielded themselves; but returning to Carlisle, he revenged himself, by punishing some of the hostages, especially Maxwell, the chief author of the revolt, according to the contents of some letters he had received from the king of England. During these transactions, Henry of France, who succeeded his father Francis, sent forces to the sea, to be transported into Scotland, about 6000 men; of which 3000 were German foot, commanded by the rhinegrave; about 2000 French; and 1000 of divers nations, all horse: they were all commanded to obey monsieur Dessy, a Frenchman, who had been a commander in France some years, and had done good services there. They landed at Leith, and were ordered to quarter at Edinburgh till they had recovered their sea-sickness. The regent and the forces with him marched to Haddington, where they blocked up all the passages, and laid a close siege to the place. He issued a proclamation into all parts; in pursuance whereof, in a short time, there came in to him about 8000 Scots. The nobility assembled, and the consultation was renewed concerning the young queen's going into France, and marrying the dauphin; a council was called in a monastery of monks, without Haddington, in the very camp. In that convention there were various disputes; some said, that if they sent away the queen, they must expect perpetual war from England, and bondage from the French. Others

were of opinion, that, by reason of agreement in religion, and the condition of the present times, it was best to embrace the terms offered by the English, which were a ten years peace, with no bad covenants or obligations on the Scots. For the sum of the league was, *That, if the king of England, or queen of Scotland, died within ten years, all things should be, on both sides, as they were before; and, though no fortuitous event should happen between, yet the kingdom might be hereby freed from its present pressures, which had almost broke its strength; and the soldiery, who were almost all lost in the late battle, might have time to grow up and increase in a long continued peace; and that, intestine discord being laid asleep, they might more maturely consider of the grand affairs, than they could do amongst drums and trumpets: and, in such consultations, delays were sometimes of great advantage, and rash precipitate doings were attended with speedy repentance.* Thus they. But all the papists favoured the French, and some others too, whom French bounty had either gained, or else had raised up to expectations of great advantage; amongst whom was the regent: he had a yearly revenue of 12,000 French livres promised him, and the command of 100 cuirassiers: so that most voices carried it for the queen's going into France. The fleet which was to convey her rode at Leith, and making as if they would go away, they sailed about all Scotland, and came to Dumbarton, where the queen went on shipboard, having staid some months for its arrival, in the company of James her brother, John Erskine, and William Livingston. She met with much foul weather, and contrary winds, but at last landed at Bretagne, a peninsula in France, and went by easy journeys to the court.

In Scotland, whilst the war stopped at Haddington, the common people, in several places, were not wanting to the present occasion; for the garrisons of Hume and Fastcastle doing great hurt to the neighbourhood, the Scots observing that Hume was negligently guarded by night, got up to the top of a rock, where the confidence of the place being inaccessible made those within less watchful, and so they killed the centinels and took the castle. And not long after, when the governor of Fastcastle had commanded the country thereabouts to bring in a great quantity of provisions into the castle, at a certain day, the country people upon this occasion came in great numbers, and unlading their horses, they took up the provision on their backs, to carry them over a bridge made betwixt two rocks, into the castle; as soon as ever they were entered, they threw down their burdens, and upon a sign given, slew the guards, and before the rest of the English could come in, they seized on their arms, and placed themselves in the avenues: and thus, setting open the gates for their own party to enter, they made themselves masters of the

castle. In the mean time, the naval force of the English was not idle; for the whole stress of the land war lying upon Haddington, the commanders thought that the neighbouring parts were weakened, and put beyond all power of defence, so that they landed in Fife. And accordingly they passed by some sea-towns, which were well inhabited, and came to St. Minan's kirk, a place well enough peopled, and from thence they might march by land to great towns, but less fortified, where the pillage might be more worth their labour. James Stuart, the queen's brother, receiving the alarm, with the people of St. Andrews, and a few of the countrymen who were left at home, made towards them; and, in his way, many of the neighbourhood struck in with him. The English were already landed, and about 1200 of them stood ready in their arms for the encounter. The great guns which they had landed, struck such a dread into the countrymen, that they quickly fled; but James, after he had a little stopped their fear, charged the enemy so briskly, that, though he had but a raw and tumultuous band along with him, he soon routed them, and drove them toward the sea, killing many upon the spot, and many in the pursuit: not a few of them were drowned in hasting to their ships; one boat, with all its passengers, was sunk, whilst they endeavoured in throngs to get on board. It is reported, that there were 600 slain in the fight, and 100 taken prisoners. Then the fleet presently sailed to Mern, a country less inhabited; their design was to surprise Montrose, a town not far from the mouth of the river Dee: they resolved to land in the night, and therefore they staid at anchor, out of sight of land, as long as there was any light in the sky; but as they were making to shore in the dark, they discovered themselves by their own imprudence, by hanging out lights in every boat. John Erskine, of Downe, governor of the town, commanded his men to arm, without making any noise, and he divided them into three bodies; he placed some behind an earthen bank, which was raised on the shore to prevent their landing; he, with some archers lightly armed, made directly towards the enemy; and a third band, of servants and promiscuous vulgar, he placed behind a neighbouring hill, backing them with a few soldiers to govern the rabble. Matters being thus ordered, he with his archers fell upon the enemy in their descent, and maintained a sharp dispute with them, till, in a tumultuary kind of fight, he had drawn them on to the bank; there he joined his other party, who stood ready at their arms, and they all fell on the enemy; yet they had not given ground, unless the last body had shewn themselves, with colours flying, from the next hill; then they made such haste to their ships, that, of about 800 which came on shore, hardly the third part escaped to their ships.

In the mean time, great sallies were made about Haddington, not without loss on either side, but most on the English: Whereupon, they being in some want of provisions, and fearing a greater, and perceiving also, that the relief prepared came slowly on, and that they were so weakened, as to be hardly able to admit of the delay; two brave soldiers, Robert Bovey and Thomas Palmer, were commanded to march thither from Berwick, with 1000 foot, and 300 horse, and to make all the speed they could. These all fell into an ambush laid for them, and scarce a man of them escaped alive. The English resolved to send more aids, but the French discovering their design, blocked up the narrow passages, by which they were to march; but Dessy, being deceived by one of the enemy's scouts that he had taken, who told him that the English were far off, and were marching another way to relieve the besieged, left the straits he had possessed, and went to another place. In the interim, the English marched through to the relief of their friends without any hinderance. They brought with them 300 fresh men, powder and ball, and such other provision as the garrison stood most in need of.

Whilst these things were acted at Haddington, with various success on both sides, which did not at all make to the main of the war, news was brought that the English had levied a complete army to raise the siege: Whereupon Dessy, knowing that he was not able to encounter the forces which were coming, removed his leaguer farther off from the town, and sent back his great guns, all but six small field pieces, to Edinburgh. Upon the coming of the English army, the siege was raised because the Scots commanders would not hazard the state of the kingdom upon a single battle; so that the Scots marched every one the next way home. The French also, though much pressed upon by the English, got well off. The French soldiers, in their return, slew the governor of Edinburgh and his son, together with some of the citizens who joined with them, because they refused to admit them into the town with all their forces, in regard they knew they could not keep them from plundering. Dessy in the interim, lest the sedition should increase, drew off; and withal supposing that the enemy would be more secure at Haddington because of their good success, resolved to make an attempt to surprise it on a sudden. Thither he marched all that night, and by break of day slew the centinels, and came up to the walls. They took the fort before the gate, and killed the watch; some endeavoured to break open the gate; they also siezed upon the granaries of the English. In this hurry, the noise of those who were breaking open the gate, and the huzzas of the French, crying out, *Victory, victory*, roused up the English from

their sleep. In this great confusion a soldier set fire to a brass gun, placed casually against the gate, that he might, in a present danger, make trial of a doubtful remedy. 'The bullet broke thro' the gate, and made a lane in the thick ranks of the French; so that, what between the exclamations of the soldiers, crying out, *Victory*, and the noise of the shattered gates, such a confused clamour was carried to the rear, that they were surprised with fear, not knowing the cause, and so fled; which occasioned the rest to follow after. The French being thus repulsed, marched into Teviotdale, where the English had done great damage: There, under the conduct of Dessy, they drove the enemy from Jedburgh, and made many inroads into English ground, not without considerable advantage. At length, when they had wasted all the country, besides their daily duty, they fell into great want; and the commonalty pitied them the less, because of their late sedition at Edinburgh; for they looked upon that attempt as a step to tyranny. And from that time forward, the French did nothing worth speaking of. The king of France was made acquainted, by letters from the regent and queen-dowager, how Dessy spent much time on light expeditions, and generally insignificant; that he was more injurious to his friends than enemies; that the French soldiers were grown so insolent, since the tumult at Edinburgh, that, by reason of the intestine discord, all was like to be ruined. Whereupon Dessy was recalled, and Monsieur Paul Terms, a good soldier and prudent commander, was sent with new supplies for Scotland. Dessy thought it would be for his honour to recover the island of Keith, which was taken a few days before, and was begun to be fortified; so he got together a fleet at Leith, and went aboard with a select company of Scots and French. The queen-dowager was a spectator of the enterprise, and encouraged them, sometimes particularly, sometimes all in general. After he had landed in the island, he drove the English into the uttermost corners, killed almost all their officers and compelled them to surrender, but not without much bloodshed. This was his last noble piece of service in Britain, and then he surrendered up his army to Terms. Terms drew forth the army out of their winter quarters, and commanded them to march towards the northern shires; he himself, Dessy being dismissed, followed soon after, and laid siege to the fort of Brochty, and in a short time took it, and also the castle adjoining from the English, putting almost all of both garrisons to the sword. When he was returned into Lothian, his great care was to hinder provisions from being carried to Haddington; when lo, upon a sudden, a great army of English and Germans shewed themselves ready for the encounter; whereupon he made a quick retreat in good order, till he came to a place of greater safety. In

the interim the Scots cavalry, which skirted upon the enemy on every side, perceiving the German baggage to be unguarded, plundered them in a moment. Provisions were carried into Haddington without any opposition. During these transactions, Julian Romerus, with a troop of Spaniards at Coldingham, was taken in his quarters, where he lay with as great security, as if all had been at peace, and almost all his whole party was destroyed. Terms, when the English forces were marched home, resolved to return to the taking of Haddington. They were stout men that defended the town; but in regard the country was wasted all thereabouts, and provisions could not be brought from afar but with great hazard, and sometimes certain loss; and besides, the English were troubled with a most grievous sedition at home, and were further pressed upon by a war with France: hereupon, the garrison of Haddington, having no hope of relief, burnt the town, and on the 1st of October, 1549, marched away for England.

Moreover, the garrison at Lauder was almost ready to surrender, as being in great distress for want of necessities, when lo! news was brought on a sudden, of a pacification made between the English and the French, which was published in Scotland, April 1st, 1550; and the May following the French soldiers were transported back into France. That peace, as to foreign parts, lasted about three years, but it was as troublesome and pernicious as the hottest war; for those who sat at the helm, the regent, and his brother the archbishop of St. Andrews, were both extremely cruel and avaricious, and the archbishop very licentious in his conversation: for, as if he had been authorized to injure all mankind, he made his will his law. The first presage of the ensuing tyranny was, the suffering the murder of William Crichton, an eminent person to go unpunished. He was slain by Robert Semple, in the regent's own palace, and almost in his sight; and yet the murderer was exempted from punishment, by the intercession of the archbishop's concubine, who was daughter to Semple. This archbishop, as long as the king lived, was one of his confidants, and pretended a great zeal for the reformed religion, but, when the king was dead, he ran into all the excesses of the wildest impiety. Among the rest of his mistresses, he took away this young madam Semple from her husband, who was his neighbour and kinsman, and kept her almost in the place of a lawful wife, though she was not handsome, nor a woman of good reputation, nor noted for any thing but her wantonness. After this followed the death of John Melvil, a nobleman of Fife, who was a great intimate of the last king's. Some letters of his were intercepted, written to a certain Englishman in the behalf of his friend, a prisoner there; and though there could be no suspicion of trea-

son in the case, yet the author of them had his head cut off: and that which made the matter still worse, was, that his estate was given to David, the regent's youngest son. The loss arising by these wicked practices reached but a few, but the envy of them extended to many, and the bad example almost to all. This unskilfulness of the regent's managing the government, together with the sluggishness of all his former life, did mightily offend the commons; so that he every day grew more and more into disrepute, especially after the suffering of George Wishart; for most imputed the following calamities to the death of that religious man; especially they who not only knew the purity of doctrine which George held forth, and admired the unblameableness of his life, but looked upon him as divinely inspired, because of the many and true predictions which he had made. Hereupon the authority of the regent grew every day less and less. And soon after these followed another, and that a more spreading mischief, which drew a general complaint against him, which it was impossible to smother. There were judicial conventions appointed to be held throughout the whole kingdom; the pretence was, to suppress robberies, but the event shewed, that it was nothing else but to cover oppression under a plausible name: for money was extorted from all, good and bad, as much from honest men as thieves; and both were punished, not according to the greatness of the crime, but of estate. Neither could he keep off his cruelty and avarice from the reformed, tho' himself had formerly professed to be one of them; and now he had not the cardinal as a blind for his crimes; nay, the money, thus basely got in the name of the regent, was as profusely and unadvisedly spent by the lust of his brother.



(A. C. 1550.)

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK XVI.

MATTERS being thus settled at home, the queen-dowager took a resolution to go into France, partly to visit her native country, her daughter, and relations; and partly to secure her hopes of attaining the supreme power, which seemed to be freely thrown upon her; and accordingly she chose those to attend her on her journey, who were favourers of her design. For this ambitious and politic lady was full of hopes, that the regent would, by his own mismanagement, so ruin himself, as to make way for her to succeed him. She staid with the French king above a year, in which time she informed him of the state of affairs in Scotland; who heard her favourably, and by means of her brothers she easily obtained of him what she desired. The king of France, the better to bring about his designs without any tumult in Scotland, advanced to high honours all those of the Scottish nobility, every one according to his degree, who had adhered to the queen-dowager: they also, who were of kin to the regent, were in like manner preferred; his son James was made captain over all the Scottish auxiliaries in France, and a yearly pension of 12,000 French livres promised him. Huntly, whose son had married his daughter, was made earl of Moray. Of the sons of Rothes, by different mothers, who quarrelled about their patrimony, the youngest, who was kin to the Hamiltons, was made earl. The king of France, by the advice of the queen-dowager,

sends for Robert Carnegy, one of the regent's household, who was lately sent over by him into France, to give that king thanks for his frequent assistance of the Scots against the English; as also David Painter, ambassador for some years in France, in behalf of the Scots; besides Gavin, abbot of Kilwinning, all firm to Hamilton's faction. He declares to them what he had before treated of with the Guises; the sum of which was, 'That the regent would do the king an acceptable piece of service, if he would give leave to the queen-dowager to govern that little time of magistracy which was left him; which, as it was but a just and equitable request agreeable to their laws, so, if he complied with him therein, he would take care that it should not be prejudicial to his interests; nay, he should find that, by this means, he had in him procured himself a fast, firm, munificent friend; he wishes them to inform him, how he had at present, freely, and of his own accord, rewarded some of his friends, by which he might easily judge, what favours he might expect from him for the future.' Thus Carnegy, loaden with great promises, was dismissed, and sometime after, Painter, the Scottish ambassador, bishop of Ross, was ordered to follow him. He, as being a man of great eloquence and authority, dealt with the regent and his friends to give up the administration of affairs into the hands of the queen-dowager; and with much ado he obtained it; so that, for his diligence and faithfulness in that service, the king of France gave him an abbey in Poictou. The queen, being now secure of the success of things in Scotland, and having made sufficient provision, as she thought, how to deprive the Scots of their ancient liberty, and to bring them *a-la-mode de France*, was accompanied by monsieur D'Oysel, as ambassador, to carry things on; a sharp man, whose counsel she was to make use of in all things of moment, and she returned home by land through England. The next year after she followed the regent, who kept assizes in almost all parts of the kingdom, and so by degrees made the nobility her own. In this progress, some few offenders were punished, and the rest were fined. The queen could not approve such proceedings, and yet she was willing enough to hear of them; for she believed that what favour the regent lost, it all returned upon her. In the mean time, having won over the nobility to her, she caused some friends to deal with the regent, that he would freely resign up the government. His relations, upon the view of his strength, perceived that his treasure was low and his friends few, and that he would have much ado to make up and clear his accounts; for king James V. at his decease, had left a great deal of money, arms, ships, horses, brass guns, and abundance of household-stuff, all which he lavished out amongst his friends

in a few years; and that his account would be speedily called for, the queen being now almost of age. And, if he would extricate himself out of all those troubles, by quitting the government, it would be no great loss; for thereby he would but give up the sway wholly to the French, which was entirely managed by their counsels before. And he would have this advantage also, that, by laying down the invidious title of viceroy or regent, which however he could not long keep, he would procure safety and security to himself and his.

This prospect pleased; so that an agreement was made on these conditions, that for what goods of the late king's Hamilton had made use of, the French king would see him indemnified; as also that he should be free from any account, on the pretence of the regency; only he was to take an oath to restore what did appear not embezzled. However, in this he did not perform his promise; for about twelve years after, when his castle of Hamilton was taken, after the battle of Langside, many things were there found which shewed his perjury. Besides, there were large presents made him, and he was honoured with the title of duke of Chatelherault (which is a town in Poictou, situated near the river Vien) and had a yearly pension of 12,000 French livres; half of which sum was paid for some years. Another condition was also added, that if the queen died without children, Hamilton should be declared by all the estates the next heir. These were the conditions of the surrender, which were sent into France, that they might there be confirmed by the queen and her guardians. The queen, by the advice of her mother, makes Henry II. king of France. Francis, duke of Guise, and cardinal Charles, his brother, her guardians. The regent, though, by the persuasion of Painter, he had promised to relinquish the government, and the time to do it was very near, yet, when he came to the point, according to his usual inconstancy, he was at a great nonplus; for he began to consider how shocking a thing it would be for him, to fall down from the supreme magistracy to a private life, since then he should be obnoxious to those many whom in his government he had offended. On these reflections he began to elude his promise, and to frame excuses, in regard the queen was not yet full twelve years old. Thus, though those allegations might have been answered, yet the queen-dowager chose rather to retire to Stirling, and there to expect the expiration of the set time for the giving up the charge, than to make any quarrel about a small matter, though never so true.

In this her retirement, the greatest part of the nobility often came to her (fortune favouring her side) whom she sought by all means to engage in her faction; and those she had engaged, she fixed and confirmed, filling them with all abundance of hopes,

and making many promises, both in general and particular, how obliging she would be to them all, when she was advanced to the government, which they all knew would shortly follow. She prevailed so much by these artifices, that only two of the nobility remained with the regent, John, his base brother, and Livingston, his near kinsman: all the rest came over to the queen. This solitude of the regent's court, and the fulness of the queen's, was a plain sign to him, that all the estates were alienated from him; and so he was glad to accept of those terms which he rejected before, only with this addition, that the queen-dowager would procure them to be ratified by the three estates in the next parliament, and also by the guarantees in France.

About the same time, affairs grew very troublesome in England, by reason of the death of king Edward VI. a young prince of high expectation, by reason of his great genius, and propensity of all kind of virtue, which was not only born with him, but cultivated by learning and study.

At the beginning of the next spring, the nobility assembled at Stirling, where, in a full assembly, the transactions with the regent were confirmed, which the queen and guarantees had subscribed. This addition was also made, that the regent should keep a garrison at Dumbarton. And, to complete all, a parliament was appointed at Edinburgh, to be held the 10th day of April, then next following, where all the pacts and agreements approved by the guarantees (as hath been said) were produced; and when they were read, the regent arose, and openly abdicated himself from the magistracy, and gave up the ensigns of his government to D'Oysel, who received them in the behalf of the queen, who was absent; and, by command, delivered them up to her, who received them by a general consent. And thus being advanced into the regent's place, she was carried with great ceremony through the city, to the palace in the suburbs. And the regent, who, at his entrance into the parliament, was attended with a great number of the nobility, and had the sword, crown, and sceptre carried before him, according to custom, now, being degraded, mixed himself amongst the crowd, in the year 1555.

This was a new sight in Scotland, and never heard of before that day, that a woman should be, by the decree of the estates, advanced to the helm of government. Though matters thus inclined to the French interest, yet the Scots would never yield that the castle of Edinburgh should be garrisoned by them; if so, they feared, in case the queen died without issue, the French would then make it the seat of their tyranny; so that it was put into the hands of John Erskine, as an indifferent person, who was to surrender it to none, but by the command of the estates.

After this, when the state of the public seemed to be some-

what settled, the queen-regent (as now she was called) sent out George Gordon, earl of Huntly, to apprehend John Muderach, chief of the family of the M'Ronalds, a notorious robber, who had played many foul and monstrous pranks. It is thought that Gordon did not play fair in this expedition; so that when he returned without doing the business he was sent about, he was kept prisoner till the time appointed for his answer. In the interim his relations excused him, and laid the blame of the miscarriage upon the clanship of Catan. Thus they spread false reports among the vulgar; for they gave out, though untruly, that the M'Intoshes had spoiled the design, by reason of their animosity against the Gordons. This hatred between these two clans arose upon this occasion: when the queen prepared for her expedition into France, Gordon kept William, chief of the Catan family, as his prisoner, a young man well educated by the care of James, earl of Murray. There was no crime proved against him, but only because he would not put himself under his clanship or clientile; and, besides, it turned to his prejudice, that he was of kin to Murray, as being a sister's son. Gordon, having thus provoked the young man, did not think it safe to give him his liberty, and so leave him behind him; neither could he find sufficient cause to put him to death. And therefore he, by means of his friends, persuades him, not being versed in ill arts, to commit his cause wholly to him; for, by these means, Gordon's honour, and his own safety, might be secured. Gordon, being thus made master of the life and death of his enemy; dissembled his anger, and deals with his wife to put him to death in his absence; for thus he thought to cast the odium of the fact upon her. But it fell out quite otherwise; for all men knew the ill disposition of Gordon; and they were as well satisfied in the integrity of his wife, who was a good woman, and had carried herself like a regular and noble lady, in the whole course of her life; so that every body was satisfied that Gordon was the author of that counsel to his wife. Gordon being in prison, the queen-regent's council were of different opinions, as to his punishment. Some were for his banishment for several years into France; others for putting him to death; but both these opinions were rejected by Gilbert earl of Cassils, the chief of his enemies. For he, foreseeing by the present state of things, that the peace between the Scots and the French would not be long-lived, was not for his banishment into France; for he knew a man of so crafty a spirit, and so spiteful at those who blamed or envied him, would, in the war which the insolence of the French was like speedily to occasion, be a perfect incendiary, and perhaps a general for the enemy. And he was more against putting him to death, because he thought no private offence worthy of so great punishment, or to be so revenged as to inure the French to spill the blood of the

nobility of Scotland. And therefore he went a middle way, that he should be fined and kept in prison till he yielded up the right which he pretended to have over Murray: and that he should suffer all the royal revenues arising out of the Orcades, Shetland isles, and Mar, to be quietly gathered by such collectors as the queen-regent should appoint, and he himself should not meddle with any of the public or regal patrimony; and likewise should surrender up his presidency over some juridical courts, which brought him in great profit. Upon these conditions he was dismissed. And having thus mollified the mind of the regent, and those that could do most with her, at last he was admitted in the privy-council.

In the mean time all court-offices, which had any thing of profit to move competitorship, were, by Gordon's advice, given to strangers, on purpose that he might breed a disgust between the queen-regent, and the nobility of Scotland; and so take delight, though not an honourable one, in their mutual contest and destruction of each other: The earl of Cassils who foresaw this tempest before it came, began now to be accounted as a prophet.

After this, matters were quiet till July, in the year 1555, and the queen-regent having gotten this respite from war, applied herself to rectify the disorders of the state: She went to Inverness, and held public conventions in the nature of assizes, in all accustomed places, wherein many disturbers of the peace were severely punished. She sent John Stuart, earl of Athol, against John Muderach, to effect that which Gordon, in his expedition, had failed in. He, besides his fortitude and constancy (virtues proper to him) was also so prudent and successful, that he took him, his children and whole family, and brought them to the queen. But Muderach, being impatient of sitting still, or else excited by the sting of an evil conscience, deceived his keepers, escaped out of prison, and filled all places again with blood and rapine. The regent hearing of this, was forced to go the circuit sooner than she had determined, to bring him and other malefactors to justice; which having done, she returned, and, in a public assembly, restored some of those who slew cardinal Beton, that were popular men (whom the late regent had banished) from their exile; by which fact of hers she procured not so much applause, as ill-will from the many new taxes she devised. It was thought that D'Oysel, Ruby, and those few French about the regent, put her upon these new projects to raise money, *i. e.* that men's estates should be surveyed and registered in books made for that purpose; and that every one should pay yearly a certain sum assessed upon him out of it, into a treasury set apart for that end, as a fund for war; for with that money, thus kept in a peculiar treasury, mercenary soldiers were to be hired to guard the frontiers, and so the

nobility might remain quiet at home, except some great invasion were made by the enemy, which an ordinary force could not resist. The poorer sort were much aggrieved at this new pecuniary imposition, and inveighed openly against it with bitter words; but the greatest part of the nobility kept their disgust within their own breasts, every one fearing that, if he should first oppose the will of the queen-regent, the whole envy of the refusal would fall upon him alone. But the next rank of people were as angry with the nobility, for betraying the public liberty by their silence, as they were with the queen; and thereupon about 300 of them met together at Edinburgh, and chose James Sandeland of Calder, and John Weems, out of their whole body, and sent them to the queen-regent, to represent to her the ignominy in paying this tax; and to pray, that it might not be assessed or levied upon them, because it would betray the public and private property: And also to inform her, that their ancestors had not only defended themselves and their estates against the English, when much more powerful than now they are, but also had made frequent inroads into England, and that themselves had not so far degenerated from their ancestors, but that they were willing to lay down their lives and fortunes for the good of their country, if need required. And as for the hiring of mercenary auxiliaries, that was a matter full of danger, to commit the state of Scotland to men who had neither estates nor expectations, but who would do any thing for money; and if occasion were offered, their profound avarice would incite them to attempt innovations; so that their fidelity hung only on the wheel of fortune. But supposing they were well qualified, and had a greater love to their country, than respect to their own condition, yet was it likely, nay, was it not incredible, that the mercenaries should fight more valiantly to defend the estates of others, than the masters of them would do, each man for his own? Or, that a regard to a small salary or pay, which was likely to cease in time of peace, would raise up a greater courage in the minds of the commonalty, than in the nobility, who fought every man for his fortune, wife, children, religion and liberty: Besides, this project concerns the very vitals of the Scottish government, and it was a thing of greater consequence, than to be debated at this time, and in this tender age of our young queen; for if it were granted it could be effected without a sedition, yet this new way of managing a war is both useless, and also much feared and suspected by the generality; especially since out of the tribute of the Scots, men, none of the richest, money enough could hardly arise to maintain a guard of mercenaries, for the defence of the frontiers; and therefore it was to be feared, that the event of this counsel would be, to open the door of the frontiers to the enemy, not to shut it. For, if the

English, living in a richer kingdom, should erect a fuller treasury for that use, there was no doubt but they might maintain forces double to ours, with less burden to their own people; and then they would break in, not only upon the frontiers, but even into the very body of the kingdom.

The other part of their oration, I know not whether it be not better to suppress in silence, than to declare it amongst the vulgar: Some mutterings there were, who will collect this money? How much of it must necessarily be expended upon distrainers and treasurers, as a reward for their pains? Who will undertake that it shall be spent in public uses, and not on private luxury? It is true, the probity and temperance of our noble princess, who now rules, gives us great hope, nay, confidence, that no such thing will be; yet if we consider what hath been done by others abroad, and by ourselves at home, we cannot contain or so govern ourselves, but must needs fear, that what hath *often* been done, may possibly be done *again*. But, to let these things pass, which perhaps we have no cause to fear; let us come to that wherein our ancestors placed their greatest hope of defence, to maintain their liberty against the arms of an over-powering enemy. There was no king of Scotland ever esteemed wiser than Robert, the first of that name; and all confess that he was the most valiant of princes: He, at his death, as he had often done in his life, out of a prospect to the good of his subjects, gave this advice, 'That the Scots should never make a perpetual peace, no, nor one for any long time with the English: For he, out of the wisdom of his own nature, and also by his long experience, and exercise under both conditions, prosperous and adverse, knew well enough that by idleness and sloth, the minds of men should be broken with pleasure, and their bodies also grow languid; for, when severe discipline and parsimony is extinct, luxury and avarice grow up, as in a soil untilld, accompanied also with an impatience of labour, and a slothfulness occasioned by continued ease, averse from and hating a military life; by which mischiefs, the strength of body and mind being enervated and weakened, loses all its valour, and an unnatural short-lived pleasure, the fruit of idleness, is over-balanced by some signal calamity.

Upon this oration, the queen-regent fearing a sedition if she persisted, remitted the tribute, and acknowledged her error. It is reported she was often heard to say, *That it was not herself, but a certain chief man of the Scots themselves, that was the author and architect of that design.* By these words, some thought she meant Huntly, a man of a fierce disposition, and newly released from prison, and, as it seems, more mindful of the injury of his imprisonment, than of the respect shewn in his deliverance. And therefore, when he saw that the regent was intent upon this one

thing, to accustom the Scots to pay tribute, fearing that thereby her power would increase, and the authority of the nobility would be weakened and infringed, in regard she, being a foreigner, sought to bring all things into the power of her own countrymen, it was thus thought he gave his counsel to her, which suited well with her mind, as to the raising of the money, which she was then about; for otherwise, the advice was plainly destructive, hostile, and pernicious; for he knew well enough that the Scots would not pay such great taxes; neither would they be such obedient subjects as they had been before. Some thought that David Painter, bishop of Ross, found out this way of tax, for he was a man of great wit and learning; he had received many favours from the Hamiltons, and was a friend to their family and designs.

The next year, which was 1557, while the ambassadors of Scotland were treating about peace at Carlisle, the king of France sent letters to Scotland, to desire the regent to declare war against England, according to the league: the cause was pretended to be, because the queen of England had assisted Philip of Spain, her husband, who was engaged in fierce war against France, by sending him forces into the Netherlands. The ambassadors being returned from England without either confirming peace or war, the regent called together the nobility at the monastery of Newbottle, where she declared to them the many incursions the English had made upon the Scottish ground; what preys they had taken, and when restitution was demanded, none was made; so that she desired the Scots to declare war against the English, both to revenge their own wrongs, and thereby also to assist the king of France; yet she could not prevail with the nobility to begin first; and therefore, by the advice, as it is thought, of D'Oysel, she brought about the matter another way. She commanded a fort to be built at the mouth of the river Aye, against the sudden incursions of the English, wherein also she might lay up great guns, and other necessities for war, as in a safe magazine, from whence she might fetch them upon occasion, and so save labour of carrying them from the remoter parts of the kingdom, whereby much time would be spent, and, besides the troublesomeness of the carriages, opportunity of action would be lost. These conveniencies were visible enough, but she had another object in it: she knew that the English would do their utmost to hinder the work, and not to suffer a garrison to be erected under their noses, so near Berwick. Thus the seeds of war, which she desired, would be sown, and the fault of taking up arms cast upon the enemy; and the event answered her expectation. For the Scots, being provoked by the wrongs of the English, whilst they were compelled to defend their own borders, easily assented to

the regent's desire, to make war upon England. Whereupon the ambassadors sent into England to make a peace, were called back, a proclamation was made, and a day appointed for a general rendezvous at Edinburgh: when the camp was formed at Maxwell-heugh, and the council had not yet decreed any thing concerning the manner of carrying on the war, they, who were forward to gratify the regent, and oblige the French, ran up and down, plundering about Werk castle, situate in the borders of England. D'Oysel had brought some French troops thither and some ordnance, as many as he thought were sufficient to take the castle and carried them over the Tweed, without staying for the order of the council, which highly incensed the Scots nobility against him; for in so doing, he seemed to aim, that the whole honour of such an expedition should rather redound to himself than to his master, as also to make the Scots obnoxious to, and under his command, who were wont to have the chief command themselves. Thus the Scots were mightily offended, that they were so slighted by a private man, and a stranger too, so as to be led by the nose by him, without so much as asking their opinions, as was formerly wont to be done: and thus, by doing things of his own head, without consulting the nobility, he had arrogated more to himself, than ever any of their own kings had done.

Hereupon the matter was deliberated in council, where it was unanimously agreed, that they would not venture the strength of the kingdom against an enemy, at the humour of every private person; especially seeing they were never wont to obey their own lawful princes in that case, but after matters had been opened and seriously debated in council; and therefore D'Oysel's imperiousness in the case, was nothing but an essay to try how capable they were to bear the yoke of slavery: Whereupon they commanded D'Oysel to draw back the ordnance; and if he refused, he should be punished as a traitor. The queen-regent, and D'Oysel himself, highly resented this affront. The regent thought, that her majesty was impaired thereby; and the other, that his master's honour (whose ambassador he was) was concerned: But they, being the weaker, were forced to yield for the present; and there seemed no remedy to occur, but that the queen of Scots, who was now marriageable, should marry the dauphin, as soon as conveniently it could be effected; for then the wife, being in the power of her husband, the authority of the council would be much lessened.

During that winter, there were various excursions made, and with different success; but one was most memorable at the foot of Cheviot-hills, where a fight was maintained a long while between the duke of Norfolk and Andrew Ker. The victory was a long time doubtful, but at last inclined to the English, and Ker

was taken prisoner, many brave men being wounded on both sides. Hereupon an assembly was summoned to Edinburgh, to be held in October, to hear the letters sent from the French king. In which, after a prolix, enumeration of the ancient leagues between them, and their mutual obligations to one another, he desired the Scots parliament, that a choice might be made of fit persons, out of all the three orders, with ample commission, who (in regard his son the dauphin, about the end of December, was entering upon the year fit for marriage, according to the law) might be sent ambassadors to conclude the marriage, which was almost already made (for the queen of Scots had been carried over into France upon that hope) and thus the nations, which were anciently confederate, would now coalesce into one body; and the old friendship between those people would be connected by an indissoluble bond. This if they would do, he made them magnificent promises, that whatever fruits of benevolence they hoped for from allies, the same they might expect from him.

Though all the Scots knew to what end this haste of the French king was directed, and that there were shortly like to be disputes between them concerning their liberties; yet they all came, in great obedience to the appointed parliament, where, without much ado, eight ambassadors were chosen to go over into France, to finish the marriage. Three of the nobility, Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassils, Geore Lesly, earl of Rothes, to whom were added, James Fleming, earl of Cumberland, chief of his family; three of the ecclesiastical order, James Beton, archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Reid, bishop of the Orcades, and James Stuart, prior of the monastery of St. Andrews, and the queen's brother; and two of the commons, George Seaton, because he was governor of Edinburgh, and John Erskine, laird of Down, or Din, governor of Montrose, of a knight's family, but comparable for dignity to any nobleman. After they had set sail, and were yet on the coast of Scotland, they were tossed with a very high wind; and being farther at sea, they met with such a terrible tempest, that two of the ships were sunk, not far from Boulogne in France, a town of the Morini. The earl of Rothes and the bishop of the Orcades were carried to land in a fisher boat, and were the only two that escaped of all the passengers in these vessels.

The rest of the fleet having long combated with the waves, at length arrived in other lesser ports of France; where, when all the ambassadors were again met, they hastened to court. There they began the treaty about the marriage: All yielded to it, but the Guises were mighty forward to have it hastened, both because they judged that affinity would be a great accession of authority to their family; as also because opportunity seemed to favour their design, in regard Annas, duke of Montmorency, who

was esteemed the wisest of all the French nobility, and who was most likely to oppose the match, was a prisoner of war. He, indeed, was not willing the matter should be so precipitated, for several other causes, in the judgment of many, very just and considerable; but, above all, lest the power of the Guises, (which was suspected by the wise, and began to be intolerable to all) should grow to that height, as to be unsafe for kings themselves. For, of the five brothers of the Guises, the eldest was captain-general of all the forces which served in France. The next was sent into Lombardy, to succeed Charles Cosseus: The third was sent over into Scotland, with some supplies, to command the army there: The fourth had the command of the gallies at Marseilles: And all money-matters passed under the hand of Charles, the cardinal: So that neither soldier nor sous could stir in all the territories of the French king, without their approbation and goodwill. Some men commiserated the fortune of the good king, and it brought into remembrance the condition of those times, when, by reason of court-factions, the kings of France have been shut up in monasteries, as in places of a milder banishment.

The court, for some days, being transported with these nuptial revels, when they came to themselves, called the Scots ambassadors into council, where the chancellor of France dealt with them to produce the crown, and the other ensigns of royalty; and that the queen's husband should be created king of Scotland, according to custom. To whom the ambassadors answered in short, That they had received no commands concerning those matters. The chancellor replied, That no more was desired of them, at present, than what was in their power, viz. That when this matter came to be debated in the parliament of Scotland, they would give their suffrages in the affirmative, and give it under their hands that they would do so. That demand seemed to be fuller of peremptoriness than the former, therefore they thought it best to reject it with great vehemence and disgust; insomuch that their answer was, *That their embassy was limited by certain instructions and bounds, which they neither could nor would transgress; but if they had been left free without any restriction at all, yet it was not the part of faithful friends, to require that of them, which they could not grant without certain infamy and treachery, though there were no danger of life in the case: That they were willing to gratify the French, their old allies, as far as the just laws of amity required; and therefore they desired them to keep within the same bounds of moderation in making their demands.*

Thus the ambassadors were dismissed the court: and, though they hastened home as soon as they could, yet, before they went a shipboard, four of the chief of them, Gilbert Kennedy, George

Lesly, Robert Reid and James Fleming, all brave men, and true patriots, departed this life, as did likewise many of their retinue, not without suspicion of poison. It was thought that James, the queen's brother, had also taken the same dose; for although by reason of the strength of his constitution and his youth, he escaped death at that time, yet he lay under a constant weakness of stomach, as long as he lived.

That summer, matters were at that dubious pass in Britain, that there seemed rather to be no peace, than a war; for there were skirmishes and plunderings on both sides, and villages burnt; incursions were mutually made, and not without blood. Two of the nobility of Scotland were carried away prisoners by the English, William Keith, son to the earl of March, and Patrick Grey, chief of a family (so called) amongst the Scots; the other calamities of war fell on persons of meaner rank.

About the same time, the English sent a fleet under the command of Sir John Clare, to infest the coasts of Scotland: They came to the Orcades, intending there to land, and to burn Kirkwall, a bishop's see the only town in that circuit. When they had made a descent with a good part of their force, a fierce tempest suddenly arose, which carried their ships from the coast into the main; where after a long contest with the wind and waves they at length made sail for England back again: They who were put ashore were every one slain by the islanders.

This year, and the year before, the cause of religion seemed to lie dormant; for it being somewhat crushed by the death of George Wishart, one party accounted themselves well satisfied, if they could worship God peaceably in their own tongue, in private assemblies, and dispute soberly concerning matters of divinity; and the other party, after the cardinal was slain, shewed themselves rather destitute of an head, than not desirous of revenge: for he who succeeded in his place, rather coveted the money than the blood of his enemies, and was seldom cruel, but when it was to maintain his plunder and his pleasures.

In April, Walter Mills, a priest, none of the most learned, was yet suspected by the bishops, because he left off to say mass, whereupon he was haled to their court. Though he was weak by constitution of body and age, extremely poor, and also brought out from a nasty prison, and lay under such high discouragements; yet he answered so stoutly and prudently too, that his very enemies could not but acknowledge, that such greatness and confidence of spirit, in such an enfeebled carcase, must needs have a support from above. The citizens of St. Andrews were so much offended at the wrong done him, that there was none found who would sit as judge upon him; and all the tradesmen shut up their shops, that they might sell no materials towards his

execution; which was the cause of his reprieve for one day more than was intended. At last, one Alexander Somervell, a friend of the archbishop's, was found out, the next day, a great villain, who undertook to act as judge for that day. This is certain, the commonalty took his death so heinously, that they heaped up a great pile of stones in the place where he was burnt, that so the memory of his death might not end with his life. The priests gave order to have it thrown down for some days, but still, as they threw it down one day, it was raised up the next, till at last the papists conveyed the stones away to build houses with, about the town. July the 20th was the day appointed by the bishops, for Paul Meffen, an eminent preacher of God's word in those days, to come to his answer. There was a great assembly of the nobility at that time, so that a tumult seemed unavoidable; whereupon the process was deferred to another time: Several were condemned, but it was of those that were absent; who, that they might not be terrified with the severity of the punishment, were commanded to come by the first of September, and pardon was promised them, if they recanted.

The same first of September was St. Giles's day, whom the inhabitants of Edinburgh look on as their tutelar saint, carousing to him in great goblets, and making high entertainments for their neighbours and guests. The regent, fearing lest, in such a confused rabble, some tumult should arise, was willing to be present herself at the wake. The papists were very glad of her coming, and easily persuaded her to see the shew and pageant, wherein St. Giles was to be carried about the city: but St. Giles, alas! did not appear, for he was stolen out of the shrine by some body or other. However, that St. Giles might not want a pageant nor the citizens a shew upon that festival day, there was another young Gilesling (forsooth) set up in his room. After the regent had accompanied him thro' the greatest part of the town, and saw no danger of any insurrection, she retired, weary as she was, into an inn to repose herself. But presently the city youths plucked down the picture of St. Giles, from the shoulders of those who carried him, threw him into the dirt, and spoiled the glory of the whole pageantry: The priests and friars running several ways for fear, created a belief of a great tumult: but when they had understood that there was more fear than danger in the thing, and that the whole matter was transacted without blood, they crept again out of their holes, and gathered themselves together to consult about the main chance; where, though they were quite out of hopes to recover their ancient repute; yet they dissembled confidence, as if their former power had remained: and, to try how to retrieve their affairs in so desperate a case, they thought to strike fears into their enemies, and appointed a convo-

cation to be held at Edinburgh, November 8. When the day of their convening came, the priests met in the church of the Dominicans, and there cited Paul Meffen by name, whom in a former assembly they had commanded to appear: he not appearing was banished, and a severe punishment denounced on those who would receive him into their houses, or supply him with any necessaries to support his life. But that commination did not terrify the inhabitants of Dundee from doing their duty; for they supplied him with provision, and harboured him from one house to another; nay, they even dealt with the regent, by some men who were in favour at court, that his banishment might be remitted; but all the priests strenuously opposed it; and besides, they offered a great sum of money against him; so that nothing could be done.

Whilst these things were acting, some eminent persons, especially of Fife and Angus, and some chief burghers of several towns, travelled over all the shires of Scotland, exhorting all the people to love the sincere preaching of the word, and not to suffer themselves, and their friends of the same opinion in religion with themselves, to be oppressed and destroyed by a small and weak faction; alleging, if their enemies would transact the matter by law, they should easily cast them; but if they chose force rather, they were not inferior to them. And they had schedules or written tables, ready for those who were pleased therewith, to subscribe their names. These first assumed the name of Congregation, which was made more famous afterwards by those who joined themselves thereto.

These assertors of the purer and reformed religion, foreseeing that matters would soon come to some extremity, by joint consent determined to send some demands to the queen, which unless they were granted, there was likely to be no probability of a church, neither could the multitude be restrained from an insurrection. They chose Sir James Sandeland of Calder, a worthy knight, venerable both for his age, and for his well spent life, to carry their desires to the regent, who opened the necessity of sending such a message, and requested, in the name of all, who stood for the reformation of religion, "That all public prayers
" and the administration of the sacraments, should be celebrated
" by ministers in their mother tongue, that all the people might
" understand them; that the election of ministers, according to
" the ancient custom of the church, should be made by the people: and that they who presided over that election, should inquire diligently into the lives and doctrines of all that were to
" be admitted; and if by the negligence of former times, unlearned
" and flagitious persons had crept into ecclesiastical dignities, that
" they might be removed out of the ministry, and fit persons

“substituted in their places.” The priests were even mad, and stormed mightily, that any man durst appear and own so impudent a fact, as they called it. But when their heat was a little allayed, they answered, that they would refer the matter to a public disputation; and indeed, what danger could there be in that, when they themselves were to be judges in their own cause? On the other side, the friends of the Reformation alleged, that the matter ought not to be determined by the wills of men, but by the plain words of holy scripture.

The priests propounded also other terms of agreement, but such ridiculous ones, that they are not worthy of an answer; as if the reformers would keep up the mass in its ancient honour; if they would acknowledge purgatory after this life; if they would yield to pray to saints, and for the dead, that then they would also yield, that they should pray in their mother-tongue, and celebrate the sacraments, baptism, and the Lord’s supper in the same. The reformers pressed the regent, (as before) that in so just a cause, she would please to gratify them with an answer, agreeable to equity and reason. The regent favoured the cause of the priests, and secretly promised them her assistance, as soon as opportunity offered. And she commanded the adverse faction to use prayer, celebrate the sacraments, and perform other religious exercises in their mother-tongue, but without tumult; only their teachers were not to make any public sermons to the people at Edinburgh or Leith. Though this condition was carefully observed by them, yet many testimonies that her affection was alienated from them, did daily appear. And the papists at Edinburgh made almost the same answer to the demands that were brought in by the nobility; only this they added farther, “That as to the point of electing ministers, in such kind of questions, they were to stand by the canon-law, or the decrees of the council of Trent.” Neither did they, in that assembly, attempt any thing in their own matters, only commanded the bishops to send secret informers into all parishes of their dioceses, who were to take the names of the violators of the papistical laws, and bring them in to them. And though they plainly perceived that their threats were little esteemed, yet trusting to the public authority, which was on their side, and having confidence in the arms of France, they insulted over their inferiors as imperiously as ever they did before. To mitigate their minds in some sort, and to deprecate their severe and bitter sentence against the preachers of the gospel, John Erskine, lord of Down, a man learned, pious, and affable, was sent to them. He intreated them, out of that piety which we all owe to God, and charity towards men, that they would not think it much, at least, to tolerate people to pray to God in their mother-tongue, when they were met together for that service, for

that was according to scripture-command. They were so far from granting his request, that they used him with more bitter and arrogant words than formerly, adding also more cruel threatenings and reproaches; and, lest they might seem to have acted nothing in that assembly, they caused some thread-bare popish laws to be printed, and fastened upon the doors of churches, which, because they were commonly sold for a farthing, the common people called them the *quadrantary*, and sometimes the *triobolar* faith.

Moreover, they who the year before had performed the embassy in France, came in to the assembly, and easily obtained, that their transactions should be ratified. And after that, the French ambassador was introduced, who, after he had made a long oration concerning the ancient and long continued good-will of the French kings toward all the Scottish nation, did earnestly desire of them all, both singly and jointly, that they would set the crown (which he, by a new and monstrous name, called *matrimonial*) upon the head of the queen's husband, alleging, that he would gain but an empty name, without any occasion of power and profit. He also used many other flattering words, not necessary here to be repeated; which, the more accurate they were in a trifling business, by so much the more they were suspected, as coverts of concealed fraud; yet the ambassador, partly by immoderate promises, and partly by earnest intreaties, and partly by the favour of some, who colleagued with the future power, gained the point, that the crown was ordered for the dauphin; and Gillespy Campbell, earl of Argyle, and James, the queen's brother, were chosen to carry it to him. These persons, perceiving that they were sent abroad to their own ruin, in regard the French ambition hung as a storm ready to fall upon their heads, made no great haste to fit up their equipage, but deferred their preparation from day to day, until they had pondered all things, and taken surer measures of what was likely to ensue, especially since now a nearer and more eminent title of honour offered itself; for Mary queen of England being dead, the queen of Scots carried herself as her heir, and bore the arms and ensigns of England, engraving the same on all her household-stuff and furniture; and though France was at that time miserably distressed in asserting her power and dominion over Milan, Naples, and Flanders, yet she added to the rest of her miseries this mock-title of England. The wiser sort of the French saw this well enough, but they were forced to comply with the Guises, who then could do all at court; for, by this kind of vanity, they would needs be thought to add much splendour to the French name.

Besides, the regent having received the decree concerning the matrimonial crown, seemed to have put on a new disposition, for she turned her ancient affability, which was acceptable to all, in-

to an imperious arrogance; and, instead of gentle answers, where-with, before, she used to soothe both factions, as, that it was not her fault, but that of the times, that she could not promise so largely as she desired, before that decree was passed. Now she thought herself secure, and therefore used another kind of language and deportment. A parliament was summoned to be held at Stirling, May 10th; and whereas she often said, that *now she was free from other cares, she would not suffer the majesty of government to be debased, but endeavour to restore it to its ancient glory, by some eminent example.* These words portended a storm ensuing, and therefore many applied to her for favour; and, amongst the rest, to make their request more likely to be granted, upon the account of the dignity of the messengers, Alexander Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, and Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, a worthy knight, were sent to her. When they came, she could not contain herself, but must needs utter this speech, as a witness of her impiety. *Do you, and your ministers what you will or can, yea, though they preach ever so sincerely, yet they shall be banished the land.* When they replied, in great humility, *that she would be pleased to call to mind what she had often promised them.* She answered, *that promises of princes were no further to be urged upon them for performance, than it stood with their conveniency.* Whereupon they rejoined, *That then they renounced all allegiance and subjection to her;* and advised her to consider, what inconvenience was likely to ensue hereupon. She was unexpectedly struck with this answer, and said, *She would think upon it.* And when the fierceness of her anger seemed somewhat to abate, it was again kindled much more violently, when she heard that the inhabitants of St. Johnston had publicly embraced the reformed religion. Whereupon she turned to Patrick Ruthven, mayor of the town, commanding him to suppress all those tumults for innovating of religion. His answer was, *That he had power over their bodies and estates, and those he would take care should do no hurt; but that he had no dominion over their consciences.* At which answer she was so enraged, that she said, *she hoped none would think it strange, if he were shortly made to repent his stubborn impudence.* She also commanded James Haliburton, sheriff of Dundee, to send Paul Meffen prisoner to her; but he was advised thereof by the sheriff, and so gave way to the time, and slipped out of town. She wrote also to the neighbour-assemblies, to keep the Easter following after the popish manner. But when none obeyed her therein, she was so enraged, that she cited all the ministers of the churches of the whole kingdom to Stirling, to appear there on the 10th of May ensuing.

When that matter came to be noised abroad, the evangelics exhorted one another, that they and their ministers would also appear at the meeting; so that there was a great multitude of

those that were likely to be at that assembly, which, though they came unarmed, yet the regent feared that things would not go well on her side. Whereupon she sent for John Erskine of Down, who happened to be in town at that time, and prevailed with him to cause the unnecessary multitude to return home, which would not be very difficult for him to do, because of the great authority he had amongst them; and in the mean time she promised she would act nothing against the men of that persuasion. Many there were, who being made acquainted with this promise of the regent, changed their purpose of going thither, and returned home; yet nevertheless she, on the day appointed for the assembly, called over the names of those who were summoned, and those who did not answer to their names she outlawed. Erskine, seeing what little credit was to be given to her promises, and fearing to be seized on by force, had withdrawn himself, and found the lords Strathearn, Angus, and Mearns, yet in a body, though doubting of the faith of the queen. They finding, by his discourse (what they suspected before), that the queen's rage was implacable, and that the matter could no longer be dissembled, prepared themselves against open force.

Matters standing in this ticklish posture, Knox assembled the multitude at Perth, and made such an excellent sermon to them, that he set their minds, already moved, all in a flame. After sermon the greatest part of the audience went home to dinner, but a few of the meaner sort, such as were also enraged with anger and indignation, staid behind in the church. Amongst them a poor priest, thinking to try how they stood affected, prepared himself to say mass, and drew out a large frame, or rather idol case, in which was contained the history of many saints curiously engraven. A young man standing by, cried out, that what he did was intolerable; upon which the priest gave him a box on the ear; the youth took up a stone, and, thinking to hit the priest, the blow lighted on the frame, and broke one of the pictures; the rest of the multitude, being in a rage, some fell upon the priest and his frame, others upon the shrines and altars; and thus, as it were, in a moment of time, they demolished all the monuments of superstitious or profane worship.

These things were done by the meaner sort, while the richer were at dinner. With the same furious violence, they ran several ways to the monastery of the friars, the rest of the common people still flocking in to them. And though the friars had provided some aid against such assaults, yet no force was able to resist the rash violence of the multitude. The first assault was made upon the images and church-stuff, and the poorer sort ran in to plunder. The Franciscans were furnished with household-stuff, not only plentiful, but stately, more than would serve ten

times as many as they were. The Dominicans though not so opulent as they, yet had enough to evince their profession of begging to be a very vain one; so that one wittily called them (not *friars mendicants*, but) *friars manducants*. The poor seized on all their furniture; for they who had estates, to prevent all suspicions of covetousness, suffered some of the monks, and especially the prior of the Carthusians, to go off with great quantities of gold and silver plate. Nay, the abstinence of the soldiers from plunder was as incredible, as their celerity in demolishing the buildings was wonderful. For those large houses of the Carthusians were so hastily overthrown, and even the stones carried away, that, within two days time, there was hardly any sign of any foundation left. When the news of all this came to the queen, with some exaggerations, they so inflamed her lofty spirit, that she swore she would expiate this nefarious wickedness with the blood of the citizens, and with the burning of the city. The inhabitants of Cupar in Fife, hearing of this procedure of affairs at Perth, they also by general consent either broke the images, or threw them out of the church, and thus cleansed their temple: at which the priest of the parish was so grieved, that the night following he laid violent hands upon himself. The regent was amazed to hear this news, and sent for Hamilton, the earls of Argyle and Athol, with their allies and clanships, to come to her, and though she desired, by her quick proceeding, to prevent the preparations of her enemies, yet the carriage of the brass ordnance was so tedious, that it was about the 18th day of May before they came to the parts adjoining to that city. When the nobles that were at Perth heard of the preparations that the regent had made against them, they also sent messengers to their friends, and to the reformed all about, not to desert them in this last extremity of life and fortune. Whereupon all the commonalty came zealously and speedily in, and some also out of Lothian, that they might not be wanting to the common danger. But Alexander Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, exceeded them all in his force and readiness; for he, hearing how things stood, gathered together 2500 men, horse and foot, and led them on night and day, through rough and by-ways, till he came to Perth. James Stuart, natural son to the late king, and Gillespy Campbell, earl of Argyle, were as yet in the army of the regent, for though they were the chief authors of reforming religion, yet, because all hopes of concord were not quite lost, they staid there; that so, if peace might be made on just terms, they might do some service to their friends; but if the minds of the papists were wholly averse from peace, then they resolved to run the same hazard with the rest at Perth.

The regent, being before informed by her spies, that the ene-

my were about 7000 strong, all very hearty, and resolved to fight, though she had with her almost an equal number of Scots, besides the French auxiliaries, yet was loth to venture all upon a battle. And therefore she sent James Stewart, and Gillespy Campbell (whom I named before) to treat with the enemy. They, on their part, chose out Alexander Cunningham, and John Erskine of Down, to treat with them. The queen was now somewhat more placable, because she heard that Glencairn had also joined his forces with the rest of the opposers of idolatry. Whereupon the four commissioners made an agreement, that all the soldiery of the Scots should be disbanded on both sides, and the regent should have liberty to enter the town, and stay there with her retinue for a few days, till she had refreshed herself from the toil of her journey; yet so, that they were not to injure any of the townsmen in the least. As for the French, none of them were to enter, or to come within three miles of the town. All the other differences were referred to the decision of the next parliament. Thus, the present insurrection being quieted without blood, the assertors of the Reformation departed joyfully, for they desired not to make a war, but only to defend themselves; and thereupon they gave God thanks, who had given an unbloody end to the war. The earl of Argyle and James Stewart left the regent at Perth, and went to St. Andrews, there to refresh themselves after their toils. But she, the volunteers being disbanded on both sides, having entered the place with a small retinue, was honourably received according to the ability of the citizens. The French mercenaries passing by the house of Patrick Murray, an honest and worthy townsman; six of them levelled their pieces against a balcony, out of which his whole family looked to behold the sight; upon the discharge they killed only Patrick's son, a youth of thirteen years of age. The body was brought to the queen; and when she heard of what family he was, she said, *That the chance was to be lamented; and so much the rather, because it lighted on the son, and not on the father; but that she could not prevent nor help such casual accidents.* This her speech gave all to understand, that she would no longer stand to her agreements than till she had force great enough to her mind; and her deeds confirmed the truth of this suspicion: for within three days after, she began to turn all things topsy-turvy; some of the citizens she fined, others she banished; and charged their magistrates, without any judicial proceedings; and, going to Stirling, she left some mercenary Scots under French pay, in the town to garrison it; whereby she pretended she had not broken her word, which was, that the city should be left free, and no Frenchman enter into it. When it was objected to her, that by the agreement, all those were to be accounted French, who had sworn allegiance to the French king; then she

had recourse to the common refuge of the papists, that *promises were not to be kept with heretics*. But her excuse would have been as honest, if she had told them that she had no obligation lay on her conscience, but that she might lawfully take away both life and goods, from such a sort of people as they were; and moreover, *That princes were not to be so eagerly pressed for the performance of their promises*.

These things sufficiently declared, that the concord was not like to be lasting. And besides, the things which followed gave further occasion for a sinister opinion of her; for she pestered James Stewart and Gillespy Campbell with threatening letters and commands, denouncing the extremity of the law against them, unless they came in to her. As for the army of the adverse faction, she disregarded that, because she knew it was made up of volunteers, and such as fought without pay; and when they were dismissed, they would not easily be brought together again. After she restored the mass, and settled other things as well as she could, she left a garrison in the town, as I said before, and went toward Stirling. She was very desirous to have the possession of Perth, in regard it was situate almost in the middle of the whole kingdom, and was the only walled place in it. And besides, all the neighbouring nobility was averse from the papists, and therefore she desired to put this curb upon them. Moreover, it had many conveniencies, and especially for conveyance of land or sea forces; for the tide comes up thither from the river Tay, which washeth its walls; and so it affords a passage for commerce with foreign nations, and it is almost the only town to which access may be had by land, even to the utmost parts of the kingdom. As for other towns, the passages to them are intercepted by long bays, running in from the sea; and the passage is slower through them, by reason they have not that number of ships as to carry a great multitude at once; so that oft times passengers are stopped many days, by contrary winds, or by the violence of tempests.

For these reasons Perth is accounted the most convenient place for holding assemblies, and also for collecting forces from all parts of the kingdom. But at that time the regent got not so much advantage by the commodious situation of the place, as she reaped envy by violating her faith, in breaking her capitulations; for that was the *last* day of her felicity, and the *first* wherein she was publicly contemned. For, when the matter came to be divulged, it gave occasion of many insurrections in all parts of the kingdom. For the earl of Argyle, and James Stewart, perceiving that their credit was broken, by the violation of that truce, which they were the authors of, convened the neighbour nobility of St. Andrews, and joined themselves to the reformed, and wrote to their confederates of the same sect, that the regent was at Falkland, with

French forces, and that she was intent on the destruction of Cupar and St. Andrews; and unless help were presently sent, all the churches in Fife would be in great danger. Whereupon a great multitude came presently in to them from the neighbouring parts, mightily enraged against the queen and her forces. For they found they were at war with a faithless and barbarous people, that had no respect to equity, right, faith, promises, or the religion of an oath, but esteemed so lightly of them, that they would say and unsay, do and undo, at every waving blast of hope, and uncertain gale of smiling fortune; and therefore, for the future, no conditions or articles of peace were to be hearkened to, unless one party were extinguished, or, at least, strangers were driven out of the kingdom. So that they prepared themselves to overcome or die.

By these, and such like speeches, the minds of all present were so inflamed, that first of all they made an assault on Crail, a town situate on the further angle of Fife, where they overthrew the altars, and broke down the images, and spoiled all the apparatus of the mass-trade: and, that which was almost incredible in the case, anger prevailed more in the minds of the vulgar, than avarice. From thence they went to St. Andrews, where they spoiled the temples of the other saints, and levelled the monasteries of the Franciscan and Dominican friars to the ground. And though all this was done almost under the nose of the archbishop, who had a sufficient number of horse, which were able, as his hopes lately were, to defend the town; yet seeing the eagerness of the people, and such a numerous concourse of all sorts of volunteers, he withdrew himself and his followers from the fury of the multitude, and went to Falkland to his clans and kindred. The regent was so enraged at the hearing of this, that, without any further deliberation, she commanded a march the next day, and sent quarter-masters before, to assign quarters for the French at Cupar. She also sent abroad her commands to all places, that all who were able to bear arms, should follow her to Cupar; besides, she gave a watch-word to the present forces of the French and the Hamiltons, that they should be all ready to be in arms on sound of trumpet. This design of hers was made known to the reformers, by their spies and scouts; whereupon their friends and acquaintance were summoned to repair to those who were already assembled; and, to prevent the design of the regent, they marched presently towards Cupar; and at the same instant, the inhabitants of Dundee, and the nobles of the adjacent country, to the number of about 1000 men, upon the same alarm, joined themselves with them. That night they halted there, but the next morning early they drew their forces out of the town, and stood in array in the adjoining fields, expecting the army of the

papists, and gathering up their own forces, as they came gradually and stragglingly in. In the camp of the regent there were 2000 French, under the command of D'Oysel, and 1000 Scots led by James Hamilton, duke of Chatelherault, as he was then called. These sent their cannon before them in the second watch, and marching early in the morning, came all so near, as to see the enemy, and to be seen by them. There was a small river between them, where, at convenient posts, their great guns were planted. Five hundred horse were sent before, to make light skirmishes with the enemy, and also to hinder their passage over the river, if they should attempt it. The alacrity of these men gave some stop to the French; which was further increased by the coming in of Patrick Lermont, mayor of St. Andrews, with 500 citizens in arms, who, for the conveniency of their march, being stretched out in length, made a shew of a far greater number than they were. This kept the regent's forces from discovering the number and order of their enemies, which they much desired to know; neither could they discover that the general officers were present, that so they might give notice to their own people, as they were commanded. And therefore some of the French went to the top of an high hill adjoining, to have as full a view of the enemy as they could, from such a distance. From thence they discovered many bodies of horse and foot, with small distances betwixt them, and behind them a great number of men to attend the baggage and waggons, which made a long shew at the edge of a certain valley; so that they thought that the whole numerous party was laid in ambush for them: and this news they carried to their fellows, aggravating all things beyond what they were indeed. Whereupon the commanders of the army, by the advice of the council, sent to the regent, who staid at Falkland, to acquaint her how matters stood; that the Scots seemed more numerous than they expected, and more ready to fight; and, on the contrary, their own men murmured; and some of them publicly gave out, that they scorned, for the sake of a few strangers, to be led to an engagement against their own countrymen, friends and relations. Whereupon, by the assent of the queen, three ambassadors of the nobility were sent from Hamilton, such as had some friends or sons in the enemy's army. These ambassadors could not make a peace, because the reformers, being so often deluded by vain promises, gave no credit to their concessions; and the regent at that time had not any other voucher but her word to make good her stipulation; and if she had, she would have thought it below her dignity to have offered it. Besides, there was another difficulty in the case, which was the expulsion of foreigners out of the kingdom (a thing principally insisted upon) and that she could not do, without acquainting the French king;

so that only dilatory truces were made, not to incline their minds to peace, as they had often experienced before, but to procure foreign aid; only this was agreed between them, that the French forces should be transported into Lothian, and a truce should be made for eight days, till the regent could send some pacifications of her own to St. Andrews, to propound equal conditions of peace to both parties. But the reformers, plainly perceiving that the regent did but protract time, till she passed her army over the next frith, because then she could not compose things to her own advantage, the earl of Argyle and James Stewart desired her by letters, that she would draw the garrison out of Perth, and leave the city to its own laws, as she promised when she was admitted into it; and, that the envy of her breach of covenant was brought upon them, who were the authors of the agreement. The regent giving no answer to these letters, they turned their ensigns towards Perth, from whence miserable complaints and groans for relief were daily brought them. For the laird of Kinfans, a neighbouring laird, whom the regent, at her departure, had made governor of the town, to shew his officiousness, mightily oppressed the citizens: for taking the opportunity of his command over them, he indulged his own private passions, and revenged the old grudges which he had with many of them, even to extremity, banishing some, and pillaging others, on the account of religion; and he also allowed the like liberty to his soldiers.

The forces which were at Cupar, understanding of these injuries done to their friends and partners in the reformation, beat up a march thither very early in the morning; they besieged the town, which, after a few days was surrendered to them, Kinfans was deprived of his governorship, and Patrick Ruthven the old governor, substituted in his place. Afterward they burnt Scone, an old and unpeopled town, because, contrary to their faith given, they had killed one of their number.

By their spies they were informed that the regent was sending a garrison of French to Stirling, so that they, who were beyond the Forth might be cut off from the rest. To prevent this design, Gillespy Campbell and James Stewart, late in the night, with great silence, removed from Perth, and entered Stirling, where they presently overthrew the monasteries of the friars. They also purged the other churches about the city, from all monuments of idolatry. And thus, after three days, they marched towards Edinburgh, and destroyed the superstitious relics at Linlithgow, a town in the mid-way; and though they were but a very few in number, the common soldiers, as if the war had been ended, slipping home to their domestic affairs; yet they crushed the papists in so many towns, and so great a terror seized on the mercenary Scots and French, that they fled, with all their baggage which

they could draw after them, to Dunbar. The Scots nobles, who were the leaders of the Reformation, staid there several days to order matters; for, besides cleansing of the temple from all popish trinkets, they appointed preachers to expound the word of God purely and sincerely to the people.

In the mean time, word was brought from France, that king Henry II. was dead; which news increased the joy, but lessened the industry of the Scots; for many now betook themselves to their private affairs, as if all the danger had been over. On the other side, the regent, fearing lest she and the French should be expelled out of Scotland, was highly vigilant and intent upon all occasions. First, she sent forth scouts to Edinburgh, to fish out the enemy's designs; by whom being informed, that the common soldiers had dispersed themselves, and that the few which remained, kept no military discipline nor watch. She thought not fit to slip such an opportunity, but marched, with the forces which she had, directly to Edinburgh. Duke James Hamilton, and James Douglas earl of Morton, very dutifully met her; but they, not being able to compose matters, only got this point, that the battle should not begin that day. At last, after many conditions had been canvassed on both sides, on the 24th of July, 1559, a truce was made to last till the 10th of January. The sum of the terms were, "That no man should be compelled in matters of religion; that no garrison should be placed in Edinburgh; that the priests should not be hindered from receiving the fruits of their lands, tithes, pensions, or other incomes, freely; that none should demolish churches, monasteries, and other places, made for the use of priests, or should transfer them to other uses; and, that the day after, the mint for coining money, and the royal palace, with all the furniture they found there, should be restored to the regent."

She was more careful to keep the articles of this truce both by herself and her subjects, because she had shewn so much scandalous levity in keeping the pacts made in former times. However, by men of her own faction, she caused the Scots to be irritated, who were by nature inclinable to passion, and so gave occasion of harassing the unhappy commonalty. But, having no colour for her project, sufficient to disguise her cruelty, under the pretence of law she caused false reports to be spread abroad, that religion was but made the pretence for rebellion; that the true cause of rising in arms was, that, the lawful line being extinct, the kingdom might be transferred to James, the late king's bastard son. When she perceived that the minds of men were somewhat possessed by these, and such other kind of false reports, she sent some letters to the said James, pretending that they came from Francis and Mary, king and queen of France, wherein he was

upbraided with the pretended favour he had received from them and withal was severely threatened, if he did not lay aside his design of revolting, and return to his duty. James answered, That he was not conscious to himself, either in word or deed, of any offence, either against king, regent, or laws; but, in regard the nobility had undertaken the cause of the reformers of religion, which was decayed, or rather had joined themselves to those who were first therein, he was willing to bear the envy of those things if any did arise, which were acted in common by himself and others, they aiming at nothing but the glory of God; neither was it just for him to desert that cause, which had Christ himself for its head, favourer, and defender, whom unless they would voluntarily deny, they could not give up their enterprise. Setting that cause aside, he and others, who were branded with the invidious name of rebels, would be most obsequious and loyal in all other things. This answer was given to the regent, to be sent into France, where it was looked upon as proud and contumacious; whereas some esteemed it modest enough, especially as to the point of upbraiding him with favours, whereas in truth he had received none, unless such as were common to all strangers.

While these things were transacting, a thousand French mercenaries arrived at Leith; as also the earl of Arran, son to James Hamilton, late governor, came to the convention of the nobility, which was held at Stirling. The regent thought himself very secure, upon the arrival of the French, and began openly to apply her mind to subdue all Scotland by force. But the cause of the earl of Arran's return was this, he was more eager and zealous in the cause of Reformation, than was safe for him in those times, and therefore he was designed to be put to death by the Guises, who were the favourites of Francis the younger, for the terror of the inferior orders of men: Nay, the cardinal of Lorraine was so bold in a speech, which he made in the parliament of Paris, inveighing against the cause of Reformation, that he said, *They should shortly see some eminent man suffer upon that account, who was little inferior to a prince.* He being made acquainted therewith, and withal calling to mind, that he had a little before been free in his discourse with the duke of Guise upon that head, by the advice of his friends, provided for his safety by a secret flight; and contrary to all men's expectation, came home in the midst of his country's tumults, joined himself with the part of the reformers, procured his father also to join with them; and so he reconciled many to him, who had been his enemies before, upon old grudges.

The chief of the party there present, being informed that for certain some auxiliaries were arrived, and others were levying, to be speedily sent over to Leith, which was strongly fortified, to

be made a magazine for provisions and ammunition for war; and that the French intended to make use of that town, as a place to secure their retreat, if they were distressed, and as a port to receive their friends, if they prospered. Hereupon the Scots gathered their forces together, and endeavoured to besiege Leith, but in vain; for the regent and governor of Edinburgh castle, who had not yet joined himself with the reformers and vindicators of public freedom, had the possession of almost all the brass cannon in Scotland; and besides, the party had not strength enough to shut up a town in a formal siege, which had the sea on one side, and was also divided by a river.

In the mean time, the king of France being informed how matters stood in Scotland, sent thither L'Abros, a knight of the order of St. Michael, with 2000 foot, to assist the queen in the maintenance of the popish religion. There was also sent with him the bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne, to dispute matters controverted, by arguments, if need were. The arrival of them did so raise up the dejected spirit of the regent, that she solemnly promised, she would now be speedily revenged of the enemies of saints and kings. There were then twelve of the chief nobility assembled at Edinburgh, which gave answer to Mr. L'Abros and the bishop, who alleged they were sent over ambassadors; and therefore desired a day to propound their demands, viz
“ That they did not seek peace, as they pretended, but that they
“ threatened war; otherwise, if it were only to dispute, to what
“ purpose was it to bring so many armed forces? As for them-
“ selves, they were so imprudent, as to commit themselves to a
“ dispute, where they must be forced to accept of what conditions
“ their enemies pleased: But, if a pacification might be accepta-
“ ble to them, they also would take care, that they might not
- “ seem to be compelled by force, but overcome by reason; and,
“ if they did really aim at what they pretended, they should send
“ back the foreign soldiers, and meet unarmed, as they had done
“ before; that so the matter might be determined by equity and
“ right, not by force of arms.” This they said to the ambassa-
dors. As to the fortifying Leith, they wrote back to the regent, to this purpose:

“ 'That they did much admire, that the regent had, without
“ any provocation, so soon forgot, and receded from her agree-
“ ments, as, by driving out the ancient inhabitants of Leith, and
“ placing a colony of strangers there, and so erecting a fort over
“ all their heads, to the ruin of their law and liberties, as she had
“ done; and therefore they earnestly desired her to desist from
“ so pernicious a resolution, which was rashly undertaken by her
“ against the faith of her promises; against the public benefit,

“law and liberty; lest otherwise they should be compelled to
“call for the assistance of all the people in this case.”

About a month after, they sent an answer from their convention at Edinburgh, to the same purpose, withal adding this to their former request, That she would demolish all new fortifications, and send away all strangers and mercenaries, that so the town might be free for traffic and mutual commerce; which, if she refused to do, they would look upon it as a sure argument, that she was resolved to bring the kingdom into slavery, which mischief they would do all they could to prevent.

The regent, three days after, sent Robert Forman, principal herald (king of arms, as they call him) giving him these commands in answer to them: “First of all, you shall declare to
“them, that I am mightily surprised, and look upon it as an unexpected thing, that any other man should claim any power
“here, besides my son-in-law and daughter, on whom all my
“authority depends. The former conduct of the nobility, and
“these their present requests, or rather commands, do sufficiently declare, that they acknowledge no authority superior to
“themselves: That their petitions, or rather their threats, though
“gilded over with smooth words, are not at all new to me.
“Next, you shall require the duke of Chatelherault, to call to
“mind what he promised me by word of mouth, and to the king
“by letters, that he would not only be loyal to the king, but also
“so would take effectual care, that his son, the earl of Arran,
“should not mix himself in these tumults of his country: And
“you shall ask him, whether his present conduct corresponds
“with those promises. To their letters you shall answer, That,
“for the sake of the public tranquillity, I will do, and so I promise, whatsoever is not contrary to my duty towards God or
“the king. As for the destruction of law and liberty, it never
“entered into my heart, much less to subdue the kingdom by
“force. For whom, said she, should I conquer it, seeing my
“daughter doth now, as lawful heiress, possess it? As to the
“fortification at Leith, you shall ask, Whether ever I attempted
“any thing therein, before they, in many conventions, and at
“length by a mutual conspiracy, had openly declared, That they
“rejected the government set over them by law, and without
“any advice or notice, though I held the place and authority of
“a chief magistrate; had broke the public peace at their pleasure,
“and had strengthened their party by taking of towns, and had
“treated with old enemies for establishing a league; and that
“now many of them kept Englishmen in their houses? so that,
“to omit other arguments, What reason have they to judge it
“lawful for themselves to keep up an army at Edinburgh, to invade those that are in possession of the government; and yet

“ it must not be lawful for me to have some forces about me at
“ Leith for my own defence? Their aim is principally this, to
“ compel me, by often shifting of places, to avoid their fury, as
“ I have hitherto done. Is there any mention in their letters a-
“ bout obedience to lawful magistrates? Do they discover any
“ way to renew peace and concord? By what indication do they
“ manifest, that they are willing these tumults should be appeas-
“ ed, and all things reduced to their former state? Let them
“ colour and gild their pretences how they please, with the shew
“ of public good, yet it is plain, that they mind nothing less; for if
“ that one thing were a hinderance to concord, I have often
“ shewed the way that leads unto it. They themselves are not
“ ignorant, that the French, at the command of their own king,
“ had long since quitted Scotland, if their conduct had not occa-
“ sioned the soldiers longer stay. And therefore, if now they
“ will offer any honest conditions, which may afford a probable
“ ground of hope, that the majesty of the government may be
“ preserved, and that they will with modesty obey their superi-
“ ors; I shall refuse no way of renewing peace, nor omit any
“ thing relating to the public good. Neither am I only thus af-
“ fected towards them, but the king of France is of the same
“ mind too, who hath sent over an illustrious knight of the order
“ of St. Michael, and another prime ecclesiastical person, with
“ letters and commands to that purpose, whom yet they
“ have so slighted, as not to vouchsafe them an answer, no, nor
“ audience neither. And therefore you shall require the duke,
“ and other nobles, and persons of all sorts, presently to separate
“ themselves, otherwise they shall be proclaimed traitors.”

To this letter the nobles sent an answer the day after, which
was October 23d, to this purpose: “ We plainly perceive by
“ your letters and commands, sent us by your herald, how you
“ persist in your disaffection to God’s true worship, to the pub-
“ lic good of the whole country, and to the common liberty of
“ us all; which, that we may preserve according to our duty,
“ we do in the name of our king and queen, suspend and inhi-
“ bit that public administration which you usurp under their
“ names, as being fully persuaded, that your conduct is quite
“ contrary to their inclinations, and against the public good of
“ the kingdom: And as you do not esteem us a senate and pub-
“ lic council, who are the lawful people of our king, queen and
“ country; so we do not acknowledge you as regent, in supreme
“ authority over us, especially since your government (if you
“ have any such entrusted to you by our princes) is for weighty
“ and just reasons, abrogated by us, and that in the names of
“ those kings to whom we are born counsellors, especially in
“ such things as concern the safety of the whole commonwealth

“ And, though we are determined to undergo the utmost hazard for the freeing of that town, wherein you have a garrison, from foreign menceenaries, which you have hired against us; yet, for the reverence and due respect we bear to you, as the mother of our queen, we earnestly entreat you to withdraw, yourself, ere necessity compel us to reduce that town by force, which we have often endeavoured to gain by fair means. And withal we desire, that within the space of twenty-four hours, you would withdraw likewise those who challenge the name of legates or ambassadors to themselves, and forbid them either to decide controversies, or to manage public affairs; and also, that all mercenary soldiers in the town would withdraw likewise; for we would willingly spare their lives, and consult their safety, both by reason of that ancient amity which hath been kept up between the kings of Scotland and France; and also, by reason of the marriage of their king with our queen, which doth equitably engage us rather to increase our union, than diminish it.”

The same day, the herald also related, that the day before, in a full assembly of nobles and commons, it was voted, That all the regent's words, deeds, and designs, tended only to tyranny; and therefore a decree was made to abrogate her authority; to which all of them subscribed, as most just: Moreover they did inhibit the trust her son-in-law and daughter had committed to her: They also forbade her to execute any act of public government, till a general convention of the estates, which they determined to summon, as soon as conveniently they could. The 25th day, the nobles sent an herald to Leith, to warn all the Scots to depart out of the town within the space of twenty-four hours, and to separate themselves from the destroyers of public liberty. After these threats, horsemen made excursions on both sides, and the war began, yet without any considerable slaughter. In the beginning of this action, there fell such a great and sudden terror upon the party of the reformed, as did mightily disturb them for the present, and also cut off all hopes of success for the future. For the regent partly by threats, and partly by promises, had wrought off many who had given in their names to the reformers, from the faction of the nobles; and besides, their camp was full of spies, who discovered both their words and actions, even those which they thought were necessary to be kept most secret, to the regent: And when James Balfour's servant was taken carrying letters to Leith, the suspicion lighted on a great many, and the fear diffused itself over the whole body. The mercenary soldiers also mutinied, because they had not their pay down upon the day appointed; and if any one endeavoured to appease them, he was severely threatened by them. But people did

less admire the sedition of such men, who had neither religion nor honesty, than they did the imbecility and faint-heartedness of the duke of Chatellherault, who was so amazed at approaching dangers, that his affrightment discouraged the minds of many. Those who were most courageous, endeavoured to apply remedies: and their first consultation was, to appease the mercenaries. And seeing the nobles which remained could not make up a sum sufficient to quiet and pay them, some declining through covetousness, others pleading inability; at last they agreed to melt down all the silver plate; and, when the say-masters were ready to assist therein, the mints or stamps, I know not by whose fraud, were taken away.

The only ground of hope was from England, which was adjudged too slow. At last they resolved to try the fidelity of their private friends; and thereupon they sent John Cockburn of Ormiston to sir Ralph Sadler and sir James Crofts, two knights of known valour (who at that time were officers at Berwick) to obtain of them a small sum of money, to serve their present occasion. This their design, though they kept it as private as they could, was yet discovered to the regent, who commanded the earl of Bothwell to way-lay him in his return. He, though a few days before he had taken a solemn oath, that he would not prejudice the cause of the nobles in the least; nay, though he had given them hopes that he would join himself to their party, yet nevertheless lay in ambush for Ormiston, assaulted him unawares, wounded and took him prisoner, and so became master of all the money that he brought. When the noise of this exploit was brought to Edinburgh, it alarmed the earl of Arran and James Stewart, and almost all the horse to draw out, not so much for desire of revenge, as to rescue Ormiston (if he were alive) or at least to put a stop to their march, that it might not be conveyed to the regent. But Bothwell, having notice of this by a spy, prevented their coming by his flight.

The same day, the governor of Dundee, with the townsmen and a few volunteers, marched towards Leith, and placed their ordnance on an adjoining hill. The French, who were informed by their scouts, that almost all the enemy's horse were absent, drew forth some troops, to cut off those few foot, whose small numbers they saw. The volunteers stood a while in hope of relief; but, in regard these few mercenaries which followed them turned their backs almost at the first charge, they also retired, leaving their guns behind them; at last a noise was raised in the rear, that the French were gone another way, towards the gates of the city to seize them, and so keep them out. Upon this, there was such an universal consternation, that every one shifted for himself the best he could; and, while each man endeavoured to

save one, the weak were trodden under foot by the strong; so that every one looked to his own particular; and there was no provision made in common for them all. The papists, on the contrary, crept out of their lurking holes, and openly reproached them; in-somuch, that they who ever pretended great zeal for the Reformation, began partly to withdraw themselves secretly, and partly they consulted how to desert the whole business.

On the 5th day of November, when news was brought that the French were marched out to intercept some provisions coming towards Edinburgh; besides the disagreement of the reformed among themselves, the mercenaries could scarce be got out of the town to oppose them. The earl of Arran, and James Stewart, and their friends, went first out against them, with whom there joined many worthy and valiant persons. They charged the French more fiercely than prudently, so that they were near upon the point to have been shut out from Edinburgh, and so to have paid for their rashness. For the marshes on the one side, and the adjacent wall of an orchard, left them but a narrow space for their march, and that only open to the French musqueteers; so that they were trodden under foot, partly by their own men, and partly by the enemy's horse. In this hurry they had been all certainly cut off, unless the commanders, leaping from their horses, had put themselves into equal danger with the rest. Some of the common soldiers seeing this, stopped for shame, amongst whom was Alexander Haliburton, a captain, a stout young man, and very foward in the cause of religion: he being grievously wounded, falling into the enemies hands, and receiving many strokes from them, soon after died of his wounds.

After this engagement, in which about twenty-five were killed, many withdrew themselves, and others were grown almost desperate; but the earl of Arran and James Stewart promised to continue their endeavours, if only a small company of them would keep together. When all, in a manner, refused so to do, the next consultation was, to leave the city, and, as the nobles had determined, in the second watch they began their march, and the day after came to Stirling. There John Knox made an excellent sermon to them, wherein he raised the minds of many into an assured hope of a speedy deliverance out of these distresses. Here it was agreed upon in a convention, that, because the French were continually strengthened and increased with new supplies, they also would strengthen their party by foreign aid. And in order thereto, William Maitland was sent into England, a young man of great prudence and learning. He was to inform the queen what imminent danger would accrue to England, if the French were suffered to fortify places, and plant garrisons in Scotland, in regard they sought the destruction, not of religion

only, but of laws and liberties too; and, if the Scots were overcome by force or fraud, or, if they were reduced to servitude by an unequal alliance, they would have an easier step to infringe the power of the English.

The English, after a long debate of the matter, at length gave some hopes of assistance. The noblemen, who were the assertors of liberty, had divided themselves into two parties; some staid at Glasgow, that they might command the neighbouring provinces, and defend their partners in the Reformation from wrong; others were sent into Fife. The French did what mischief they could to their enemies; but, being troubled to hear of the English supplies, they endeavoured to subdue the remainder of the contrary faction, before their coming: and first, they marched against that party which was in Fife. In their march they plundered Linlithgow, and the estates of the Hamiltons; from thence they marched to Stirling, where they staid no longer but till they could pillage the townsmen, and then passed over the bridge, and led their army along the shore of the river, which was full of towns and villages well inhabited. They ransacked all they met with, and at last came to Kinghorn. The Scots, to stop their career, put a small garrison into a town called Dysart. Here the French made light skirmishes for twenty days together; and because they could not wreak their fury upon the masters, they did it upon the bare walls of their houses, and razed a village called Grange, belonging to William Kirkaldy, from the very foundation. He, knowing that the French made frequent excursions from thence to plunder the country people, a little before day placed himself in ambush, and observing captain l'Abast, a Switzer, to march out with his company, he kept himself close so long, till the French were above a mile from their garrison, and then his horse started up, and intercepted them from their fellows. The French had but one way for it, in those circumstances, and that was to enter a country village near at hand, and so to endeavour to defend themselves behind walls and hedges. The Scots, being provoked by the former cruelty of the French, were utterly unmindful of their own safety, and wholly intent on the destruction of their enemies, though they had no other arms, but horsemen's lances, yet broke down all that was in their way, and rushed in upon them. The captain, who refused to take quarter, and fifty of his men, were slain; the rest they sent prisoners to Dundee.

They who were at Dysart, as in a settled post, met at Cupar; out of them, and others that were at Glasgow, there were some persons chosen to be sent to Berwick, to settle the terms of the league with the English. The chief articles were these, *That if any stranger should enter Britain in a warlike manner, each of them*

should aid and assist one another; that the queen of England should pay the Scots in England, and also the English auxiliaries in Scotland; that the plunder taken from the enemy should belong to the English, but the towns and castles should presently be restored to the right owners; that the Scots should give hostages, which were to remain in England, during the marriage of the French king with the queen of Scots, and one year after.

These transactions past at Berwick, February 27, 1570. One thing the English gave strict warning of to the Scots, which was, that they should not join in a set battle, and so hazard all, before the aids of their friends came; for the English lords were much afraid, that the over eager spirits of the Scots, would precipitate the whole matter into an irrecoverable confusion.

In the mean time the French, having plundered Dysart and Weems, had a debate among themselves, whether they should march directly towards the enemy, or else go along the shore to St. Andrews, and so to Cupar. The latter opinion prevailed, because, by reason of the great snow which had fallen, all the high ways were so clogged, that the horse, without great inconvenience, could not march through the midland countries; wherefore, passing along a little by the sea, when they came to the promontory called Kincraigie (*i. e.* the head or end of a rock) some of them got thereupon, where there was a large prospect into the sea, and they came down in great joy, and told their fellows, *That they discovered eight great ships, of the first rate, at sea;* whereupon the French certainly concluded, that those vessels had brought them over the succours which they had long before expected; and therefore they saluted them, as the custom is, with the discharge of their great guns, and congratulating one another, invited them on shore, resolving to pass that day in a great deal of mirth and jollity. Not long after, one or two boats landed from the contrary shore of Lothian, they (having in their passage had some discourse with the passengers in those foreign ships) made a discovery, that it was a fleet of English; and withal, that the report was, that the land forces of the English were not far from the borders of Scotland. Hereupon there was a sudden change of spirit among them, and their unseasonable laughter turned into fear and trembling; so that presently they caught up their colours, and retreated, part of them to Kinghorn, others to Dunfermline, many of them leaving their dinners behind them for very haste; for they were afraid lest the garrison, which they had left at Leith, might be cut off, and they themselves exposed to the fury of the surrounding enemy, before they could gather all their strength into a body.

During this whole march, they plundered more of the papists, who came in thick to them, than of their enemies. For of the

latter, the richer sort had withdrawn a great part of their estates into the remote places of safeguard; as for those estates which were not so secured, the French commanders being elevated with their present success, and also with the hopes of aid from France, which was every day expected, in confidence whereof they hoped to be perpetual lords of those countries; reserved the richest farms and villages, which most abounded with all kind of provisions, unplundered, as a peculiar prey for themselves. But the papists were either exhausted by the frequent invitations of the principal commanders to feast at their houses, under a pretence of friendship; or else were privately pillaged by the common soldiers; or at least in their retreat, were openly ransacked by the French, who were in great want of provisions, and that not without bitter reproaches of their cowardice, and their avarice, in not relieving their friends: Which things (said they) we leave to you to judge, how near a-kin they are to plain perfidiousness. This contumelious pride, joined with the rapacity of the French faction, quite turned the hearts of many from them; and not long after, the Fife men being compelled, partly by fear of their enemies, and partly by the wrongs received by their own partizans, joined themselves to the reformers; and at last, the remote countries universally revolted from the outlandish, and shewed themselves as eager in repressing the tyranny of the French, as the other Scots did in asserting their religion.

The spring was now at hand, and both parties hastened to draw their forces together into one place. The earl of Martigues, a youth of undaunted courage, landed from France with two ships, bringing with him about 1000 foot, and a few horse. He and his soldiers presently went on shore; but the ships were taken in the night by the Scots. About the same time the marquis of Elbeuff, brother to the regent, who was bringing aid of men and money in eight ships, returned back into the haven whence he set sail, partly for fear, because the sea was full of English ships, and partly excusing himself for the badness of the weather. Besides, a new fleet of English was sent in to second the former, who flew up and down the whole channel, and held Keith island besieged, stopping all manner of provision from passing by sea into Leith.

In the mean time, the chief of the assertors for liberty, who commanded in Fife, went to Perth, and after three days conference there with Huntly, they won over all that northern part of Scotland to their party. And order was soon after given, that they should all assemble and rendezvous at the end of March. About the same time all the reformers had a meeting at Linlithgow. From thence they went to Haddington; and, on the first of April they joined the English. There were in the English

army above 6,000 foot, and 2,000 horse. The next night they pitched their tents at Preston. The same day the regent, to withdraw herself from the danger now near approaching, and to avoid the uncertain hazard of war, retired, with some few of her domestics, into the castle of Edinburgh, of which John Erskine was governor, a man of approved loyalty and carefulness. He had received the command of it by a decree of the public council, as hath been before related, but upon this condition, that he should render it up to none, unless by the command of the same council. The French saw, that the possession of this castle was of great advantage to their affairs, and therefore they used great endeavours to obtain it by treachery. The governor, though he was not ignorant of their intentions towards him, and had so fortified the castle, and made such other diligent provision, that it was secure, either from force or fraud, yet was not willing to exclude the regent at such a time. But, in receiving her into the castle, he took great care, that both she and the castle might be still under his command. The nobles, who were the assertors of public liberty, though before they had often found, that her mind was obstinately averse from the cause which they had undertaken, yet thought it advisable not to let slip the present occasion, as hoping that the fear of the war, approaching nearer to her, and the uncertainty of aid from a remote country, might incline her mind to peaceable counsels. Whereupon the chief of the party had a meeting at Dalkeith, from whence they wrote to her to this purpose:

“ We have oftentimes heretofore earnestly intreated you, both
“ by letters and messengers, to send away the French soldiers,
“ who do yet another year grievously oppress the poor country
“ people; nay, they excite a just fear in the commonalty, that
“ they shall be reduced into a miserable servitude; from which
“ fear we have many times intreated you to deliver us; but, when
“ our just intreaties prevailed nothing with you, we were forced
“ to represent our deplorable state to the queen of England, as
“ the nearest princess to us, and to desire aid of her, to drive
“ foreigners, who threatened to make us slaves, out of our king-
“ dom, and that by force of arms, if it could not otherwise be
“ done. And though she, out of a sense of our calamities, hath
“ undertaken our cause; yet, that we might perform our duty
“ towards the mother of our queen, and might prevent the effu-
“ sion of Christian blood, as much as is possible, and might
“ then have recourse to force of arms, when we have tried all
“ other ways to obtain right without success, we do as yet esteem
“ it a part of that good temper which we ought to keep, again to
“ pray you to command the French soldiers, with their com-
“ manders and officers, to depart immediately out of the land,

“ In order to the accomplishment whercof, the queen of England
“ will not only afford them a safe passage through her kingdom,
“ but will also assist with her fleet to transport them. If this con-
“ dition be rejected, we call God and man to witness, that we
“ take up arms, not out of hatred, or any wicked intent, but en-
“ forced thereto by mere necessity, that so we may try the ex-
“ tremity of remedies, that the commonwealth, ourselves, our
“ estates, and posterity, might not be precipitated into utter ru-
“ in. And yet notwithstanding, though we at present suffer
“ very heavy pressures, and more heavy ones are near approach-
“ ing, no danger whatever shall ever enforce us to depart from
“ our duty towards our queen, or from the king her husband, in
“ the least tittle, wherein the destruction of our ancient liberty,
“ and the ruin of ourselves and our posterity, is not concerned.
“ As for you, most excellent princess, we beseech you again,
“ that, weighing the equity of our demands, the inconveniencies
“ attending war, and how necessary peace is to this your daugh-
“ ter’s kingdom, so miserably harassed, you would afford a fa-
“ vourable ear to our just requests; which, if you shall do, you
“ will leave a grateful and pleasing remembrance of your mode-
“ ration amongst all nations, and will also consult the tranquillity
“ of the greatest part of Christendom. Dated at Dalkeith, the
“ 4th of April, in the year 1560.”

The 6th day of April, when the English drew near by the sea-
side, about 1,300 French marched out of Leith, and possessed a
little rising hill at the end of the plain, because they thought that
the English would pitch their tents there. There was a sharp
fight for above five hours, for the recovering and keeping the
place, with no small loss on both sides; at last, the Scots horse,
with great violence, rushed in amongst the thickest of the French,
and drove them back in great astonishment into the town; and,
if the English horse had came in sooner than they did, as it was a-
greed, they had been all separated from the others, and so cut
off.

After this, there were conferences managed between the par-
ties, but in vain; for the English rejected all truce, and now and
then made some light excursions, yet not without bloodshed; it
is not necessary to recount them. On the 21st of April, Mon-
luck, bishop of Valence in Savoy, was first carried into the Eng-
lish camp, then into the castle of Edinburgh, to the regent, where
he had a conference with her two days, and then returned to the
Scottish nobles; the terms of accommodation could not then
neither be agreed on, because the Scots persisted peremptorily in
their demand, that the foreign soldiers should return home.
Hereupon the English, because the distance between their camp
and the town was too great for their ordnance to do any execu-

tion, so that their batteries signified little or nothing, removed their camp on the other side Leith river, near the town, where they might more certainly annoy the enemy, and also have frequent skirmishes. On the last day of April, about two hours before sun-set, a casual fire seized upon that part of the town, which being assisted by the violence of the winds, burnt fiercely till the next morning, destroying many houses, and making great devastation, and even took hold of part of the public granary, and consumed a great deal of provisions. In this confusion the English were not wanting in their duty, for they turned their great guns upon that part, and played so hot upon the people, that they durst not come to quench the fire; nay, they entered the trenches, and in some places measured the height of the wall; so that, if the French, at the beginning of the combustion, fearing some treachery, had not run in great numbers to the walls, and thereby prevented their ruin in such a general consternation, that very day had put an end to the war.

On the 4th of May, the English set fire to the water mills which were near the town; one of them they burnt down before day, the other the next day after; the French in vain endeavoured to quench the flames. On the 7th of May, the besiegers set ladders to the walls to make an assault, but the ladders were too short, so they were beaten off, many wounded, and 160 slain. The three following days, the French were employed, with great labour and hazard, in repairing the walls, the English continually playing upon them, where they saw the greatest numbers. The papists were extremely puffed up with this success, so that they now promised to themselves, that the English would depart, the siege would be raised, and the war be finished. But the English and Scots were nothing discouraged by this blow, but exhorted one another to constancy, and the English promised to stay till they heard their queen's pleasure from her court. In the mean time letters came from the duke of Norfolk, which did mightily encourage all their spirits: For he wrote to Gray, the chief commander, wishing him to continue the siege, and that he should not want soldiers, as long as there was a man able to bear arms in his province (which was very large reaching from Trent to Tweed) and, if need were, he himself would come in person unto the camp; and, to convince him of his sincerity, he caused his own tent to be erected in the camp; and, in a few days, sent 2,000 auxiliaries; so that the memory of the former loss was quite worn out, and, with great cheerfulness they renewed the war: And from that day forward, though the French made frequent sallies, yet hardly one of them was successful to their party.

In the mean time the queen of England sent William Cecil, a learned and prudent person, who was then the chief minister of

state in England, and Nicholas Wotton, dean of York, into Scotland, to treat about a peace. They were commanded to confer counsels with Randan and Monluck of the French party, concerning conditions of peace: For the kings of France thought it a thing below their dignity, to enter into an equal dispute with their own subjects. The frame of this conference was the cause, that, as if all controversies had been already decided, a convention was appointed to be held in July. In the mean time the queen-dowager died in the castle of Edinburgh, June 10th, worn out with sickness and grief. Her death variously affected the minds of men; for some of them who fought against her, did yet bewail her death, for she was endued with a singular wit, and had also a mind very propense to equity; she had quieted the fiercest Highlanders, and the farthest inhabitants of the isles, by her wisdom and valour; some believed, that she would never have had any war with the Scots, if she had been left free to her own disposition; for she so accommodated herself to their manners, that she seemed able to accomplish all things without force: But the misery was, though the name of governess resided in her, neither did she want virtues worthy of so great a dignity, yet she did, as it were, rule precariously; because, in all matters of moment, she was to receive answers, like so many oracles, from France. For the Guises, who were then the powerfulest in the French court, had designed the kingdom of Scotland, as a peculiar to their family; and accordingly, they advised their sister to be more peculiar in asserting the papal religion, than either her own disposition, or those times, could well bear. This she gave some evident hints of; for she had been heard to say, that if matters were left to her own arbitrement, she did not despair but to compose them upon equal conditions. Some others were of opinion that she alleged those things rather popularly, than really as her mind was, and that not only with an intent to avert the fault or envy of mal-administration from herself; but also that, under a pretext of asking advice, she might spin out the time in delay, whilst she sent for foreign aid; and so, by yielding, she might take off the violence of the Scots, and in time suffer their angry mood to abate; being of opinion, that the Scotch troops, who were volunteers, after one or two disbandings, could not again be easily got together, because they were made up of men, who were not under pay, nor under any certain command. And the inconsistency of the queen in keeping her promises, was no obscure evidence of this her dissimulation; for she did not expect the end of truce, which by conditions she was obliged to do; but if any specious advantages were offered, she would adventure to renew the war arbitrarily of her own head. Others there were, who cast the blame of all things, which were avariciously or cruelly acted,

or which were attempted by fraud or false report, upon those who were her counsellors: For, when she undertook the regency, at the very first some French counsellors were joined to her assistance, as D'Oysel ambassador of the king of France, a man hasty and passionate, otherwise a good man, and well-skilled in the arts both of peace and war; he was one that directed his counsel rather by the rule of equity, than the will and pleasure of the Guises. One monsieur de Ruby was joined to him, a lawyer of Paris, who was to dispute matters of law, if any such should occur: He, in his public administration, confirmed all things, as much as he could, to the manners and law of France, (as if that alone were the right way to govern a commonwealth) by which means he raised a suspicion of innovation, and though others might share the guilt of the same crime with him, yet he alone, in a manner, bore the blame and envy of it. But these two committed no offence which was remediless and incurable.

Towards the end of the war, there were three French generals, having distinct bounds allotted them, who managed military affairs in Scotland, viz. the count Martigues, of the house of Luxemburgh, who was afterwards made duke of Estampes; L'Abros, of a noble family, well experienced in arms; and a third was the bishop of Amiens, accompanied with some doctors of the Sorbonne, as if the matter were to be determined by the tongue, not the sword. All the counsels of these three tended to open tyranny. Martigues gave advice to destroy all the country near Leith by fire and sword, that so the desolation of the country, and the want of necessities, might compel the Scots to raise the siege. But if that counsel had taken effect, many peaceable persons, poor, and, for the most part, papists too, would have been destroyed, and the besieged would have had no benefit neither; for the sea being open, provisions might easily have been brought by ships, from all the maritime places of Scotland and England, into the leaguer of the besiegers; and the devastation of the land and soil would have distressed the papists as much as the embracers of the reformed religion.

L'Abros was of opinion, that all the nobility of Scotland were to be cut off, without distinction; and that 1000 French cuirassiers were to be garrisoned on their lands, who were to keep under the common sort, as vassals: This his design was discovered by some letters of his, intercepted as they were going for France; and it is scarce credible how the hatred against the French, begun upon other causes, was hereby increased.

As for the bishop of Amiens, he would have had all these to be seized on, and put to death, without pleading in their own defence, whom he thought not so favourable to the pope's cause, as he would have them; nay, and all those too, who were not so for-

ward to assist the French party, as he expected; and he mightily blamed the French soldiers, for suffering those who were disaffected to their king, to walk openly up and down with impunity; one he particularly aimed at, viz. Mr. William Maitland, a noble and learned young man, whom, because the Sorbonists could not refute by their reasons, the bishop designed to take off by the sword, and even upbraided the French soldiers for permitting him to live, and advised them to kill him; which he having notice of, took his opportunity to withdraw himself from the French, and so escaped into the Scots camp.



(A. C. 1560.)

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.



BOOK XVII.

A FEW days after the death of the regent, a truce was made up for a short time, to give audience to the ambassadors, who came to treat of peace out of both nations, France and England. Upon that the nobles assembled: These could not effect any thing; the greatest obstacle to an agreement was, That the French, who the winter before had obtained great booties out of the neighbouring parts, refused to depart, unless they carried their baggage and plunder along with them. This was denied them: Whereupon eruptions were made more fierce than ever, tho' not so prosperous to the French. At length, when both sides were weary of the war, and the inclinations to peace could no longer be dissembled, ambassadors on both sides met again in a conference. The things which most inclined all to peace, were these: The French had no hopes of any relief, and their provisions grew daily more and more scarce; and were not likely to hold out long, so that their condition was almost desperate. And for the English, they were wearied out with the long siege, and wanted necessities as well as the French, so that they were as desirous to put an end to the war. And the Scots too, receiving no pay, could hardly be kept from running away: Hence they easily hearkened to a capitulation; and at length, by the joint consent of all parties, on the 8th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1560, peace was proclaimed on these conditions; That the French should sail

away in twenty days, with their bag and baggage; and seeing they had not ships enough to transport them all over for the present, they were to hire some from the English, leaving hostages till they were safely returned: That Leith should be rendered up to the Scots, and the walls of it demolished: That the fortifications lately made by the French at Dunbar should be razed: That these articles being performed, the English should immediately withdraw their forces: That Mary queen of Scots, by the consent of her husband Francis, should grant an oblivion of all that the Scottish nobility had done or attempted, from the 10th day of March 1559, till the 1st of August 1560: And that a law should be made to that purpose, to be confirmed in the next parliament there, which was appointed to be in August; and Francis and Mary were to give their consent to the holding of that assembly: That sixty of the French should keep the island of Keith, and the castle of Dunbar; that so the queen might not seem to be thrown out of the possession of the whole kingdom at once. After this departure of the foreign soldiers, there was a great tranquillity and cessation from arms, till the queen's return. The assembly of the estates was kept at Edinburgh, where the greatest debate was about promoting the reformed religion. The statutes made were sent into France, for the queen to give her consent to, and subscribe. This was done, rather to sound her mind, than out of hopes to obtain any from her. Ambassadors were likewise despatched for England, to give them thanks for their assistance so seasonably afforded.

Not long after, James Sandeland, knight of Rhodes, went to the French court, a man as yet free from the discords of the faction. His business was, to excuse things past, and to pacify the grudges remaining since the former wars, and so to try all ways and means of establishing peace and concord. But his arrival happened to be in very troublesome times; for the whole conduct of the French affairs was then in the hands of the Guises; who, when they perceived, that neither threats nor flatteries would prevail, endeavoured to oppress the contrary faction by force of arms; and, when they could lay no other plausible crime against their opponents, they accused them of high treason, for betraying the kingdom. Upon that, the king of Navarre was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and his brother, the prince of Conde, sentenced to death; Annas, duke of Montmorency, and the two sons of his sister, Jasper and Francis Colignes, and their relation, the *vidam of Charteris, were destined to the slaughter; and, besides those, above 10,000 more were put into the black list of criminals. Moreover, all means were used to terrify

* A vidam, in France, is a baron holding of a bishop.

the people. The city of Orleans was full of foot-soldiers; guards of horse were posted all up and down the country; all the highways were beset by them; sentence was passed by a few men in the court, upon the lives, fortunes, and good names of the most honest men; all the steeples of churches and towers round about the walls had their windows shut up, and their gates and doors fortified, being designed for prisons; criminal judges were called together out of the whole kingdom. The manner of inflicting punishment was thus designed, that, as soon as the frost broke, and the river Loire was navigable, the king should go to Chinon in Poitou, at the mouth of the river Vien; and then the Guises, with a few of their partizans, at the command of the court-cabal (of which they were the chief) should perform the execution. Mean while Sandeland came to court, not so much humbly to desire pardon for what was past, as to excuse his countrymen, laying all the blame of the tumults upon the French. The Guises receiving him in a very uncourtly manner, blaming him, that he, being a man dedicated to the holy war, had undertaken to manage the commands of the rebels, in favour of that execrable heresy, which the consent of all nations had highly condemned in the council of Trent: nay, many of them admired, not so much at the folly, as the madness of the Scots, that they, being but a few, and disagreeing among themselves, and besides, destitute of money, and all warlike preparations, should dare to provoke so potent a king, who was now at quiet, and free from any foreign enemy. Between these fretful indignations and threats, the king fell suddenly sick. The ambassador was dismissed without any answer; but the message of the king's death reached him at Paris, on the 5th of December, whence he made haste home, hoping for better things to ensue.

The news of the king's death being divulged, did not so much erect the minds of the Scots, who had been in great suspense, by reason of their imminent dangers, as it filled all France with faction, and the poison of domestic discords. James, the queen's brother, Scotland being now freed from the dominion of the French, by the death of Francis, made what haste he could to the queen; who when her husband was dead, went to Lorraine to her uncle, either as a recess to her grief, or else out of a female pride and emulation, that she might not be near her mother-in-law; who, by reason of the slothfulness of Anthony Bourbon, king of Navarre, had, by degrees, brought the whole administration of affairs into her own hands. There, James, the queen's brother, having settled things in Scotland for a season, found her; and after much discourse, the queen told him, *She had a mind to return to Scotland*; and fixed a day on which they might expect her, her uncles being also of the same opinion: for, before James's coming,

there had been great consultation about the matter, some alleging the difficulty of the voyage, especially the queen of England being nothing favourable; besides, she was to go to a barbarous people, and naturally seditious, who were hardly kept in quiet by the government of men. Moreover, she had fresh examples before her eyes, of her father and mother, whom when they could not or durst not openly oppress, they used all artifices, till they drove them to despair; so that she would be daily and hourly in danger, either of her honour, or her life, amongst them. On the other side, they who were skilled in the affairs of Scotland, urged, that the seditions arising there, were occasioned oftener by default of the princes than of the people, for that they endeavoured to reduce that kingdom to an arbitrary and boundless rule, which, time out of mind, had been circumscribed and managed within due bounds of law; and that was such a curb, as a nation, which was more warlike than rich, could never be brought to endure. But all those kings, who never attempted to infringe the liberties of the people, were not only free from private enemies and popular tumults, but reigned happy in the love of their subjects at home, famous abroad, and unconquered by their enemies. But the best, and almost only way at present to quiet things, was to attempt no alteration in the state of religion, as then established. These were the debates, as public reports said, on both sides. But her uncles had other more prevailing causes in their view; for they, in the troubles of France, cherishing rather great than honest hopes, thought, if the queen was absent, she would be more in their power, than if she staid in France; and that neighbouring princes, in hopes to carry her for a wife, would court their friendships, and use them as mediators. In the mean time, one or other of their faction would preside over the management of affairs in Scotland. Besides, the queen's resolution swayed much in the case, who was determined to return into her own country; for her husband was dead, and her mother-in-law (who managed matters of state) shewing some disgusts towards her, she saw she would be neglected at that court; and, though she had been but a little used to government, yet being in the spring and flower of her age, and of a lofty spirit, she could not endure to cringe under another. She had rather have any fortune with a kingdom, than the richest without one; neither could she hope, that her condition would be very honourable, the power of the Guises being weakened by the adverse party, at the first brush. Besides, the persuasions and promises of her brother James went a great way in turning the balance; for he assured her, she would find all quiet at home; especially seeing he was a man, to whose faith she might safely commit herself, being her natural brother, and who for his youth had performed many noble and brave ex-

ploits, and so had got credit and renown amongst all men. Whilst the queen was intent on these matters, Noel, a senator of Bourdeaux, who was sent out of France, came into Scotland, a little after the end of the public convention, and was put off till next assembly, which, in order to the settling public matters, was summoned, in order to be held at Edinburgh, May 21st; yet the nobles, who met there at the time in great abundance, did not sit, because they were as yet uncertain of the queen's will and pleasure. In the mean time, James Stewart returned from France, and brought a commission from the queen, giving them liberty to sit, and to enact laws for the good of the public. Then the French ambassador had audience: the heads of his embassy were, "That the ancient league with the French should be renewed, and the new one with the English broken; that priests should be restored to their estates and dignities, which had been sequestered from them." To which answer was given: As to the French league, that they were not conscious to themselves, that they had broken it in the least; but that it had been many ways infringed by the French themselves, and especially of late, in their opposing the public liberty, and endeavouring to bring a miserable yoke of bondage upon a people that were their allies, and had given no occasion on their part. As for the league with England, they could not dissolve it, without a brand of the greatest ingratitude imaginable, in recompensing so great a courtesy with the highest injury, which it certainly would be, to join against those who had been the deliverers of their country. As for the restitution of priests, they told him, that those he called priests, were of no use or significancy in the church, that they knew of. In that parliament a statute was made to demolish all the convents of the monks, and proper persons were presently dispatched abroad into all parts of the land, to put it in execution.

Matters being prepared in France for the queen's journey, her intimate friends, who governed her counsels, advised her, for the present, wholly to pass over matters about religion, though some gave her rash counsel, to arm on that account, and kill all that opposed her. The chief of which were Dury, the abbot of Dunfermline, and John Sinclair, lately designed bishop of Brechin; and she herself was by nature, as also by the persuasion of her relations, so inclinable to their counsel, that sometimes threatenings dropt from her, which were catched up at court, and spread amongst the vulgar: and she would frequently boast, among her familiars, that she would follow the example of her kinswoman, Mary, queen of England. Wherefore the main of her counsels tended to this, to feed the men of her own faction with hopes at present, and to suppress the opposite party by degrees; and, when she was well settled in her power, then to de-

clare her mind. And this did not seem hard to do, seeing the council of Trent was lately begun (on pretence of restoring the decayed manners of the church, but indeed) to extirpate the professors of the reformed religion, as, by the decrees of that cabal, was afterwards declared. Besides, her uncles mightily animated the queen, by shewing her the power of the papal faction, at the head of which Francis, the eldest brother of the Guises, was to preside by the decree of the council. In the mean time, Charles the cardinal, amidst so many public cares, not unmindful of himself, advised the queen not to carry her household-stuff and attire, which were of great value, as it were, into another world, but to leave them with him, till he might be assured of the event of her journey. She knew the man and his craft well enough, and therefore answered him, *That, seeing she ventured herself, she might as well trust her goods as her person.* When all was resolved upon, they sent into England, to try how the queen stood affected to the voyage. D'Oysel, the envoy, was well entertained there, and sent back presently into France, to tell the queen of Scots, That, “ if she pleased to pass through England, she should
“ have all the respect which she could desire from a kinswoman
“ and ally, and that she would take it as a great favour besides;
“ but, if she shunned the proffered interview, she would look up-
“ on it as an affront.” For the English queen had prepared a great fleet, the pretence of which was, to scour the sea of pirates; but some thought that it was to intercept the queen of Scots, if she ventured to pass against her will. They took one ship, in which was the earl of Eglinton, and brought her to London, but dismissed her again in a little time. But, whatever the design was in providing a fleet, if any danger was intended, Providence prevented it; for, when the French galleys came upon the main, a mist followed them for several days, till they came into Scotland, the 21st day of August.

The news of the queen's arrival being divulged abroad, the nobility, from all parts of the kingdom, came hastily in, as to a public shew, partly to congratulate her return; and some to put her in mind of the services they did her in her absence, that so they might get into her favour beforehand, and prevent the cavils of their enemies. Others came, to give a guess of her future conduct, by her first entrance into the kingdom. Upon these different grounds, all equally desired to see their queen, who came to them so unexpectedly, after such various events, and changeable fortune. They considered that she was born amidst the cruel tempests of war, and lost her father in about six days after her birth; that she was well educated by the great care of her mother, the very best of women; but, between domestic seditions and foreign wars, she was left as a prey to the strongest side;

and, even almost before she had a sense of misery, was exposed to all the perils of a desperate fortune; that she left her country, being, as it were, sent into banishment; where, between the fury of arms, and the violence of the waves, she was, with great difficulty, preserved. It is true, her fortune somewhat smiled upon her, and advanced her to an illustrious marriage; but her joy was not lasting, it was but transitory; for her mother and husband dying, she was brought into the mournful state of widowhood; the *new* kingdom she received, and her *old* one too, standing on very ticklish terms. Furthermore, besides the variety of her dangers, the excellency of her mien, the delicacy of her beauty, the vigour of her blooming years, and the elegance of her wit, all joined in her recommendation. These accomplishments her courtly education had either much increased, or at least made them more acceptable, by a false disguise of virtue, not sincere, but only shadowed over, as it were, with the similitude of something very worthy; and so her too eager desire to please and ingratiate herself, made the real goodness of her nature less acceptable, and nipped the seeds of virtue by the blandishments of pleasure, that they might not come to bring forth any ripe fruit in their season. As these things were grateful to the vulgar, so persons of better penetration saw through them; yet they hoped, that her soft and tender age would easily be mended, and grow better and better by experience. Amidst these gratulations, there was a light offence happened, but it struck deep into the minds of either faction. The nobility had agreed with the queen, that no alteration should be made contrary to the established religion, and only she and her family were to have mass, and that too was to be in private. But, while the furniture for it was carrying through the court into the chapel, one of the multitude caught the torches out of his hands that carried them, and broke them; and, unless some men of a more moderate spirit had come in and prevented it, all the rest of the apparatus had been spoiled. That action was differently interpreted amongst the vulgar; some blamed it as a fact too audacious; some said it was to try men's patience, how far it would bear; others affirmed, and spoke it publicly, that the priests ought to undergo the punishment appointed in the scriptures against idolatry: But this commotion was nipped in the very bud by James, the queen's brother, to the great, but hidden indignation of George Gordon, who was willing to lay hold on all occasions of disturbance: And here, thinking an opportunity lay open to gain favour, he went to the queen's uncles, then present, and promised them to reduce all the country beyond Dunkeld to the old religion. But they suspected the matter, as having heard enough of the disposition of the man, and fearing lest he should raise a new storm to no pur-

pose, communicated the matter to James, the queen's brother. The rest of the year was spent in balls and feasts, and in sending away the French, who out of civility had attended the queen, and were then honourably dismissed, only one of her uncles, the marquis Elbeuff staid behind. During this posture of affairs, William Maitland jun. was sent ambassador into England, to compliment that queen, as the custom is, and to acquaint her how highly she stood affected towards her, and how much she desired to maintain peace and concord with her: He also carried to her letters from the nobility, in which was mentioned a friendly commemoration of former courtesies and obligations; but one thing they earnestly desired of her, and that was, that both publicly and privately, she would shew herself friendly and courteous towards their queen; and that, being excited by good offices, she would not only persevere in her ancient friendship, but add daily (if possible) stronger obligations. As for their part, it should be their earnest study and desire, to omit no occasion of perpetuating the peace betwixt the two neighbouring kingdoms. That there was but one sure way to induce an oblivion of all past differences, and to stop the spring of them for ever, if the queen of England would declare, by an act of parliament, confirmed by the royal assent, That the queen of Scots was heiress to the kingdom of England, next after herself and her children, if ever she had any.

After the ambassador had asserted the equity of such a statute, and how beneficial it would be to all Britain, by many arguments, he added in the close, "That she, being her nearest relation, ought to be more intent and diligent than others, in having such an act made; and that the queen expected that testimony of good-will and respect from her." To which the queen of England answered, in these words: "I expected another kind of embassy from your queen; I wonder how she comes to forget that, before her departure out of France, after much urging, she at last promised, that the league made at Leith, should be confirmed, she having promised me faithfully it should be so, as soon as ever she returned into her own country. I have been put off with words long enough: now it is time (if she has any respect to her honour) that her deeds should answer her words." To which the ambassador answered, "That he was sent on this embassy but a very few days after the queen's arrival, before she had entered upon the administration of the public affairs: That she had been hitherto taken up in treating the nobility, many of whom she had never seen before, who came from many parts to pay their dutiful addresses to her; but she was chiefly employed about settling the state of religion; which how difficult and troublesome a thing it is (said he) you yourself are not ignorant; hence

(he proceeded) your majesty may easily understand, that the queen of Scots had no vacant time at all before my departure; neither had she as yet called fit men to her council, to consult about various affairs; especially since the nobility, that lived in the farthest parts towards the north, had not been yet to attend her, before my coming; and without their advice, matters of such moment could not, and indeed ought not, to be transacted." Upon which the English queen was something moved, and said, "What need had your queen to make any consultation about doing that which she had obliged herself to, under her hand and seal?" He replied, "I can give no other answer at present, for I received nothing in command about it; neither did our queen expect, that an account of it would now be required of me: and you may easily consider with yourself, under what just causes of delay she lies at present." After some words had passed betwixt them upon these matters, the queen returned to the main point: "I observe (said she) what you most insist upon, in behalf of your queen, and in seconding the request of the nobles, you put me in mind, that your queen is descended from the blood of the kings of England, and that I am bound to love her by a natural obligation, as being my near relation, which I neither can nor will deny; I have also made it evident to the whole world that in all my actions, I never attempted any thing against the weal and tranquillity, either of herself, or of her kingdom: Those who are acquainted with my inward thoughts and inclinations, are conscious, that though I had just cause of offence given, by her using my arms, and claiming a title to the kingdom, yet I could never be persuaded, but that those seeds of hatred sprung up from the advice of others, not from herself. However the case stands, I hope she will not take away my crown whilst I am alive, nor hinder my children, (if I have any) to succeed me in the kingdom. But if any casualty should happen to me before, she shall never find that I have done any thing, which may in the least prejudice the rights she pretends to have to the kingdom of England: What that right is, I never thought myself obliged to make a strict disquisition into, and I am of the same mind still; I leave it to those who are skilful in the law to determine. As for your queen, she may expect this confidently of me, that if her cause be just, I shall not prejudice it in the least; I call God to witness, that next to myself, I know none that I would prefer before her: or, if the matter come to a dispute, that can exclude her: You know (said she) who are the competitors: By what assistance, or in hopes of what force, can such poor creatures attempt such a mighty thing?" After some further discourse the conclusion was short; "That it was a matter of great weight and moment, and that this was the first time she had en-

tertained any serious thoughts about it, and therefore she had need of longer time to consider of it." A few days after, she sent for the ambassador again, and told him, "That she extremely wondered, why the nobles should demand such a thing of her, upon the first arrival of the queen, especially knowing, that the causes of former offences were not yet taken away: But what, pray, do they require? That I, having been so much wronged, should before any satisfaction received, gratify her in so great a matter! This demand is not far from a threat: If they proceed on in this way, let them know that I have force at home and friends abroad, as well as they, who will defend my just right." To which he answered, "That he had shown clearly at first, that the nobility had insisted on this hopeful medium of concord, partly out of duty to their queen, in a prospect to maintain her weal, and increase her dignity; and partly out of a desire to procure and establish public peace and amity. And, that they deal more plainly with you, than with any other prince in this cause, proceeds from your known and experienced goodwill towards them, and also upon the account of their own safety; for they knew they must venture life and fortune, if any body should oppose the right of the queen, or any war should arise betwixt the nations, on those grounds. And therefore their desires did not seem unwarrantable or unjust, as having a tendency towards rooting out the seeds of all discords, and the settling a firm and solid peace. She rejoined, "If I had acted any thing which might diminish your queen's right, then your demand might have been just, that what was amiss might be amended: But this demand is without an example, that I should place my winding-sheet before my eyes, while I am alive; neither was the like ever asked of any prince. However, I take not the good intention of your nobility amiss, and the rather, because it is an evidence to me, they have a desire to promote the interest and honour of their queen; and I do put as great value on their prudence, in providing for their own security, and in being tender of shedding Christian blood, which could not be avoided, if any faction should arise to challenge the kingdom: But what such party can there be, or where should they have the force? But to let these considerations pass, suppose me ineliable to their demands, do you think I would do it, rather at the request of the nobles, than of the queen herself?

But there are many other things which avert me from such a transaction. First, I am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it is to venture on the dispute. The dispute concerning the right of the kingdom, is a thing that I have always mightily avoided; for the controversy hath been already so much canvassed in the mouths of many, concerning a just and lawful marriage, and what

children were bastards, and what legitimate, according as every one is addicted to this and that party, that, by reason of these disputes, I have hitherto been more backward in marrying. Once, when I took the crown publicly upon me, I married myself to the kingdom, and I wear the ring I then put on my finger, as a badge of those nuptials: However thus my resolution stands, *I will be queen of England, as long as I live*; and when I am dead, let that person succeed in my place, who hath most right to it; and if that chance to be your queen, I will put no obstacle in her way; but if another hath a better title, it were unjust to require of me to make a public edict to such a person's prejudice. If there be any law against your queen, it is unknown to me, and I have no great delight to sift into it; but if there should be any such law, I was sworn at my coronation, that I would not change my subjects laws. As for your second allegation, That the declaration of my successor will knit a stricter bond of amity betwixt us, I am afraid rather, it will be a seed plot of hatred and discontent. What, do you think I am willing to have my shroud always before my eyes? Kings have this peculiarity, that they are apt to be jealous of their own children, who are born lawful heirs to succeed them. Thus Charles VII. of France was somewhat disgusted at Lewis XI; and Lewis XI. at Charles VIII. and of late, Francis ill resented Henry: And how is it likely I should stand affected towards my relation, if she be once declared my heir? Just as Charles VII. was towards Lewis XI. Besides, that which weighs most with me, I know the inconstancy of this people; I know how they lothe the present state of things; I know how intent their eyes are upon a successor. It is natural for all men, as the proverb is, *To worship rather the rising, than the setting sun*: I have learned that from my own times, to omit other examples: When my sister Mary sat at the helm of government, how eager were the desires of some men to see me placed upon the throne? How solicitous were they in advancing me to it? I am not ignorant what dangers they would have undergone to bring their design to an issue, if my will had concurred with their desires. Now perhaps, the same men are otherwise minded; just like children, when they dream of apples in their sleep, they are very joyful; but, waking in the morning, and finding themselves disappointed in their hopes, their mirth is turned into sorrow. Thus I am dealt with by those, who, whilst I was a private woman, wished me so well: If I looked upon any of them a little more pleasantly than ordinary, they thought presently with themselves, that, as soon as ever I came to the throne, they should be rewarded rather at the rate of their own desire, than of the service they performed for me; but now, seeing the event hath not answered their expectation, some of

them gape after a new change of things, in hopes of a better fortune; for the wealth of a prince, though never so great, cannot satisfy the insatiable appetites of all men. But if the goodwill of my subjects flag towards me; or if their minds are changed, because I am not profuse enough in my largesses, or for some other trivial cause; what will be the event, when the malevolent shall have a successor named, to whom they may make their grievances known, and in their anger and peevishness, entirely betake themselves to it upon every fit of anger, or turn of a peevish humour?

What danger shall I then be in, when so powerful a neighbouring prince is my successor? The more strength I add to her in securing her succession, the more I detract from my own security: This danger cannot be avoided by any precautions, or by any bonds of law; nay, those princes who have the hopes of a kingdom offered them, will hardly contain themselves within the bonds of either law or equity. For my part, if my successor should be once publicly declared to the world, I should think my affairs far from being settled and secure." This is the sum of what was transacted at that conference.

A few days after, the ambassador asked the queen, Whether she would return any answer to the letter of the Scottish nobility? "I have nothing (said she) at present to answer, only I commend their sedulity and love to their queen; but the matter is of such great weight, that I cannot so soon give a plain and express answer to it; however when your queen shall have done her duty in confirming the league she obliged herself to ratify, then it will be seasonable to try my affections towards her: In the mean time I cannot gratify her in her request, without abridging my own dignity." The ambassador replied, "He had no command about that affair, nor never had any discourse with his mistress concerning it; neither did he then propound the queen's judgment concerning the right of succession, but his own; and had brought reasons to enforce it; but as for the confirmation of the league by her husband it was forced from the queen of Scots, without the consent of those, whom the ratifying or disannulling of it did highly concern; neither was it a thing of such consequence, as therefore to exclude her and her posterity from the inheritance of England. I do not inquire (said he) by whom, when, how, by what authority, and for what reason, that league was made, seeing I have no command to speak of any such matter: But this I dare affirm, that though it were confirmed by her, in compliance with her husband's desire; yet, so great a stress depending on it, our queen, in time, will find out reasons why it should, and ought to be dissolved. I speak not this (said he) in the name of the queen, but my in-

tent is to shew, that our nobility have cause for what they do: that so, all controversies being plucked up by the roots, a sure and lasting peace may be established betwixt us."

After much discourse pro and con, about the league, the queen was brought to this, that ambassadors should be chosen on both sides to review it, and regulate it, according to this form: that the queen of Scots should abstain from using the arms of England, and from the titles of England and Ireland, as long as the queen of England, or any of her children were alive. On the other side the queen of England was to do nothing, neither by herself, nor her posterity, which might prejudice the queen of Scots, or impair her right of succession. These were the affairs transacted in this embassy; which, while they were treated of abroad, in order to settle peace, sedition had almost broke out at home. There was mass allowed to the queen and her family (as I said before) concerning which, when the edict was published, there was one of the nobility that opposed it, viz. the earl of Arran. The queen was highly offended at it, though she dissembled her anger. The next offence she took was against the Edinburghers. It is a common custom with them to chuse their magistrates on the 29th of September. At that time, Archibald Douglas, the sheriff, according to custom, proclaimed, that no adulterer, fornicator, drunkard, mass-monger, or obstinate papist, after the first of October, should stay in the town, great penalties being denounced against those who should be found disobedient. When the queen was informed of this, she committed the magistrates to prison, without hearing them, and commanded the citizens to chuse new magistrates, enjoining them to set the gates open to all her good subjects, not without the secret indignation and laughter of some, that flagitious persons should be accounted such good subjects, and her most faithful ministers and servants. The queen finding, that the citizens took this matter more patiently than she expected, attempted greater matters by degrees. Her mass was before but privately celebrated, without any great solemnity; but, on the 1st of Nov. she added all the pomp of popish offices to it. The reformed ministers of the gospel took this heinously ill, and complained much of it in their pulpits, putting the nobility in mind of their duty. Upon this a dispute arose betwixt a few in a private house, whether it was lawful to restrain idolatry, which was like to spread and ruin all? or, whether they might by force, reduce a chief magistrate to the bounds of the law, who sets no limits to his own arbitrary will? The reformed ministers persisted constantly in their opinion, which had been approved in former times, that a magistrate might be compelled by force to do his duty. The nobles were more unsteady in their resolutions, either to gain favour with the

queen, or out of hopes of honour and reward; yet, they being superior in number and greatness, the decree went on their side.

In the mean time, the court was immersed in vice, and gave a loose to all luxury; neither was it awakened by the news of the moss-troops inhabiting the English borders, who, as if by permission, took the freedom of plundering openly, and killed all that opposed them. James, the queen's brother, was sent with a delegated power to suppress them; not so much with an intent to honour him, as many people imagined, as with a design to expose him to danger. For, as his power was distasteful to the queen, so his innocent carriage was more offensive, as reproving her for her faults, and stopping her in her career to tyranny. But God, beyond all men's hopes, prospered his just endeavours; he hanged twenty-eight of the fiercest robbers, the rest he suppressed, either by the mere terror of his name, or else by making them give hostages for their good behaviour. The queen seemed to herself to have got some liberty by his absence, for she was not well-pleased with the present state of things; partly by reason of the controversies in religion; and partly because matters were managed more strictly than a young woman could well bear, who had been educated in the most corrupted of all courts, where lawful dominion was interpreted to be unbecoming and below the dignity of princes, as if their liberty consisted in the slavery of others; so that sometimes she was heard to speak mighty discontented words; nay, the foundation of tyranny seemed to be laid: For whereas all former kings entrusted their safety only to the nobility, she determined to have a body-guard, but could find no pretence to bring it about, neither could she give any reasonable colour for her desire, but only vain courtly magnificence, and the usage of foreign princes. The deportment of her brother, the more unblameable it was, troubled her the more, in regard it cut off any opportunity to feign crimes, or fasten any suspicions upon him; as also because she knew his regularity made her loose life appear intolerable; besides, she saw the people were so affected, that they would take her keeping of life-guards as a manifest omen of tyranny: whereupon her restless mind, determining by any means whatsoever to effect what she had once resolved upon, advised this stratagem: she had a brother named John, an ambitious man, and not so strict in life as James was; he was easily persuaded to be obsequious to the queen, and so grew dearer to her, a fitter instrument for her disorderly doings. She communicates her design to him, in the absence of James, about taking a guard. The plot was laid thus: there was a noise of a tumult to be spread abroad in the night, as if James Hamilton, earl of Arran, would have surprised the queen;

who had but a few men to guard her, and so have carried her to his castle, fourteen miles off. This story, they thought, would take with the vulgar, both because the queen had a perfect aversion to him, and he was extremely in love with her, both which were things publicly known. This tumult was made as the plot was laid, the horsemen scouted about the neighbouring fields a good part of the night, and in the morning a guard was set at the court-gate, some fretting, others smiling at the matter. The authors of this project, though they knew themselves that they were not believed, yet were mightily pleased, as secure of men's opinions, and knowing that none there present durst oppose them. Upon this beginning, the court ran headlong into wantonness and luxury; notwithstanding as yet justice was equally administered, and offences punished; for the chief management of affairs was in James, the queen's brother, who, for his equity and valour, was dear to all. He used as his chief counsellor, William Maitland, a young man of a penetrating judgment, having already given ample proofs of it, and raised the expectations of men, that he would give still larger demonstrations of it in time to come. Their joint virtuous counsels kept things quiet at home and abroad, and all things went as well as good men could wish. As for the factions, they could rather fret inwardly, than complain justly.

Amidst these things, a debate arose in the court, which held them in play for three whole months. They who had been kings or regents in the preceding times, had exhausted the public treasure, which was never great in Scotland; the queen was expensive to an immoderate degree; the estates of the nobility and commonalty, in the late tumults, were mightily wasted; so that now nothing remained to maintain court expences, but the ecclesiastical revenues. Upon this, the chief of the clergy was sent for to court, and some of the prime nobility were added to that number, that could either prevail with them by persuasion, or compel them by force. After a long dispute, the ecclesiastics being overcome rather with the sense of their own weakness, than the weight of any reason, the conclusion was, that a third part should be taken off from ecclesiastical revenues, wherewith the queen should maintain orthodox ministers, and reserve the rest for her own use. This conclusion was pleasing to none. The rich ecclesiastics grudged that any of their old revenues should be pared away, and the reformed ministers expected no good from the queen; yet indeed, though a great shew was made, she got no mighty matter by it; for many of the old possessors had their thirds forgiven; many, both men and women, had the wages for their household service and expence, paid out of it for many years; many got pensions and supports for their old age. That winter the queen created her brother James, earl of Mar, with

the universal consent of all good men. All praised her for giving honour to virtue, and no body could discommend her that she allowed some grains to propinquity in blood; and many thought she had done well for the public, in advancing a person to honour, who was of an illustrious stock, and had so highly deserved of his country, that so he might preside over public affairs with the greater authority; nay, some thought that this favour of the queen's was intended to reconcile him to her, who she knew, was offended at the carriage of the court in his absence. Besides, he had a wife provided for him, Agnes Keith, daughter of the earl of March; at which marriage there was such magnificent feasting, or rather such immoderate luxury, that the minds of his friends were very much offended at it, and his enemies took occasion of exclaiming and venting their envy; and the more, because he had been so temperate all the former part of his life. Not long after, Murray was bestowed upon him, instead of Marr, which was found to be the ancient right of John Erskine. Gordon being deprived first of Mar, then of Murray, over which country he had long presided as governor, looked upon himself to be robbed, as it were of his patrimony, and therefore levelled all his designs at the overthrow of his co-rival. And he had many other motives besides; being far the richest man in all Scotland, by reason of the rewards his ancestors had received for their services to the crown, and having also himself augmented the power of his family by indirect practices. First, he overthrew John Forbes (as I said before) by false witnesses; next, when James Stewart, brother of James V. died without children, he obtained of them who sat at the helm, the stewardship of Murray; by which means he carried himself as heir, and arrived at such a pitch of greatness, that all his neighbours laid down their emulation, and rested quietly under his authority, I had almost said, were become tamely his vassals.

But whilst others submitted to him, either fearing danger, or having patience to bear the yoke, he was much troubled with the disregard one man shewed him, or, as he called it, with his pride; and that was James McIntosh, chief of a great family amongst the old Scots. He was born and brought up amongst the brutal Highlanders, who lived upon prey; but yet, whether it was by a secret instinct of nature, or else by having good instructors, he arrived at that degree of politeness, modesty, and decency of behaviour, that he might be said to vie with those, who had the greatest care used to give them a virtuous education. Gordon suspected this young man's power, for he knew he could not use one of so good a disposition, as an instrument for his wicked purposes; and therefore he seized him on a sudden, and threw him into prison; but, not able to find any crime in him worthy of

death, it is reported, he suborned some of his friends to persuade him to submit himself and his cause to him; for that, they told him, was the only way to be delivered honourably out of prison, and also to have the friendship of so powerful a man as Gordon. Thus the simple and plain-hearted man was decoyed into his own destruction; yet Gordon, being willing to avoid the envy which his being the author of his death might bring upon him, prevailed with his wife to bear the blame of it. She, being a woman of a stern, manly resolution, readily undertook the matter; and, in the absence of her husband, the poor, innocent, betrayed, young man had his head struck off. His neighbours were either so astonished at this man's punishment, or else were so hushed with bribery, that the whole country beyond the Caledonians, was under his jurisdiction alone; so that, being a man ambitious of power and glory, he took it very ill, that James, earl of Murray, was set up as his rival; and being impatient of the present state of things, he took all occasions to promote disturbances, and daily calumniated his proceedings in public; nay, he gave a book, written with his own hand, to the queen, in which he accused him of affecting tyranny; but he backed it with very slender arguments.

On the other side of the country, and, at the same time, James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, being much in debt, and very debauched, was excited to enter into an attempt against the said earl of Murray; for, having spent his youth wantonly amongst whores and bawds, he was reduced to that pass, as either to raise a civil war, or else to prevent extreme poverty, by some bold and daring action. When he had considered all ways to compass his design of disturbing the public peace, he thought it his best course to set Murray and the Hamiltons together by the ears. He seemed to be sure in his hopes of destroying one of the parties by that means, and no matter which. First then, he goes to Murray, and endeavours to persuade him to root out the Hamiltons, a family distasteful and obnoxious to the queen, the whole kingdom, and especially to himself; and he offered him his assistance in doing it, alleging, that the thing would not be unacceptable to the queen; for that, besides the common ground of hatred that princes bear against their relations, as desirous of their ruin, the queen had some particular and just cause of offence, into the bargain; either by reason of his affection to the evangelical doctrine and discipline, of which Arran was the only assertor, and for which he had incurred the hatred of the Guises in France; or else, by reason of the hard words he had lately given to one of the queen's uncles, the marquis of Elbeuff, then in Scotland. But Murray, being an honest, conscientious man, scorned to be guilty of so base an action. Whereupon Hepburn went

to the Hamiltons, and offered his service to them to destroy Murray, whose power they could not well endure. He told them, that he was the only man who was an obstacle to their hopes, and an enemy to their interests; that if he was but taken away, the queen must needs be in their power, whether she would or no; and that the method of compassing it was easy. The queen was then at Falkland, a castle seated in a town of the same name. There is a small wood in the neighbourhood, where deer, of the nature of stags (called by mistake, Fallow-deer, in the country) were kept and fed. The queen might be easily surprised, as she went thither every day, or to any neighbouring place, with a small retinue; at which time it was very easy to destroy Murray being unarmed, and suspecting no such thing, and to get the queen's person into their hands. He quickly persuaded the rest; and a time was appointed to perform the enterprize; only the earl of Arran detested the wickedness, and sent letters privately to Murray, acquainting him with the series of the whole plot. Murray writes back to him, by the same messenger; but Arran being casually absent, the letters were given to his father. Upon that, a consultation being held, Arran was shut up a close prisoner by his father, from whence making his escape by night, he went towards Falkland. As his escape was made known, horsemen were sent after him, all over the country, to bring him back again; but he hid himself in a wood, and frustrated their expectation for that night; and in the morning came to Falkland, where he discovered the whole management of that treasonable design. Not long after, Bothwell and Gavin Hamilton, who had undertaken with a party of men to commit the fact, followed him, and, by the queen's command, had a guard set upon them as prisoners, in the castle of Falkland. When the whole design was thus laid open, and the spies brought word, that the leaders were met at the time and place mentioned by Arran, and that many horsemen were seen there. Arran, being asked to explain the order of the plot, was a little disturbed in his mind; for he mightily doted on the queen, and was also a great friend of Murray's, and was desirous to gratify them. On the other side, his father was no bad man, only was easily drawn into great and difficult projects, and he had a mind to exempt him from the conspiracy. That night, when he was alone, his mind was so divided between piety and love, that he was almost beside himself; his countenance and speech gave evident signs of great perturbation of spirit; besides, there were other causes which might affect the young man's mind. For whereas he had been brought up magnificently, according to the greatness of his family; his father being a covetous man, by the persuasion of some counsellors, who nourished that vice in him, reduced him only to one servant, who

before had many attendants. They who had undertaken to kill Murray, were sent to several prisons; Bothwell to Edinburgh castle, Gavin to Stirling, till their cause was tried. Arran was sent to St. Andrews (where the queen was going) to be kept in the archbishop's castle. In that place, during his lucid intervals, he wrote such wise and prudent letters to the queen, concerning himself and others, that many were suspicious he had counterfeited himself mad, only to free his father from the treason. As for the rest he constantly and sharply accused them; insomuch that, when he was brought to the council, and so private a conspiracy could not be proved by other testimonies, he proffered to fight with Bothwell himself. About the same time, James Hamilton, Arran's father, first wrote, and after that came to St. Andrews to the queen, earnestly desiring her to take sureties for his son, Bothwell, and Gavin Hamilton, and leave them to him; but he could not be heard. At the same time also, the queen took Dumbarton castle, the strongest in all Scotland, which Hamilton had held ever since he was regent. George Gordon, being an enemy to Murray, was now grown to a far greater hate of Hamilton, his son's father-in-law, who was accused of so manifest a crime, and almost convicted of it. He thought now he had a good opportunity to rid his enemy out of the way, especially when two such noble families were joined to his side. And first, he caused a tumult to be raised in the town, then but thin of company, by his own friends, hoping that Murray would come out from the court, to appease it by his authority; and then, being unarmed, he might be easily slain in the crowd. This project did not succeed as he would have it; and therefore he sent some of his followers armed into the court to do the fact. They entered in the evening, and were to kill Murray, as he was returning to his lodging from the queen, who was wont to keep him late at night. That time seemed fittest, both to commit the fact, and to escape after it was committed. When the matter was discovered to Murray, he would not have believed it, unless he had seen it with his eyes; and therefore he got some few of his most faithful friends (to prevent all suspicion) and took one or two of the Gordons in their armour, as he groped with his hand in the passage. The matter being brought to the queen, Gordon was sent for, who pretended that some of his retinue, that were just going home, had armed themselves; but upon some occasion or other, were detained. This excuse was rather received, than approved; and so they departed for that time. That summer, by the mediation of ambassadors on both sides, it was proposed, That the queens of Scotland and England should have an interview at York, there to debate many controversies; but when they were almost ready for their journey, the matter was put off till another time. The

cause of deferring the conference was vulgarly reported to be that the duke D'Aumale, one of the brothers of the Guises, had intercepted and opened the letters of the English ambassador, then at the French court; and that by his means, principally, the English ship, which carried another ambassador, was taken and plundered. For those wrongs and injuries, matters being likely to come to a war with France, the queen went from St. Andrews to Edinburgh, and sent Arran thither too, clapping him up prisoner in the castle. In the mean time, James, her brother, went to Hawick, a great market-town in those parts, and there he surprised fifty of the chief banditti, which were met together, not dreaming of his coming; which struck such a terror into the rest, throughout all that tract, that the whole country was quieter for some time after. But as that action procured him the love and reverence of good men, so did it daily more and more excite the minds of the envious to his destruction; for, three very potent families had plotted his ruin, and the accession of the Guises to that plot made a fourth; for they being willing to restore the old popish religion, and knowing they could never effect it, as long as Murray was alive, employed their utmost endeavours to remove him out of the way. Many concurrent circumstances contributed to make the attempt seem feasible; especially because the French, who had accompanied the queen to Scotland, being returned home, had related what great interest and power Gordon had; how unquiet his mind was, and what promises of assistance he had made to introduce the mass: All these things they aggravated in their discourse, to the height. Then the matter was debated by the papists in the French court, and this way of effecting it resolved upon: They write to the queen to cherish the mad spirit of Gordon, by large promises, That she should rather pretend, than promise, to marry John his son; that so being hoodwinked with that hope, they might lead him whither they please: And also they gave her the names of those in a list, whom they had a mind should be destroyed. Besides, letters from the pope and cardinal were sent to her, to the same effect. For, whereas her revenue was not sufficient to maintain that immoderate luxury, to which she had used herself, she craved some pecuniary aid of the pope, under a pretence of managing a war against those who had revolted from the church of Rome. The pope wrote something obscurely, but the cardinal plainly, That she should not want money for that war; yet so, that those must be first killed, whose names were given her in a scroll.

The queen shewed these letters to Murray, and to the rest designed for the slaughter; either because she thought, they would have some notice of it another way; or else, to make them believe she was sincere towards them, as not hiding from them any of

her secret counsels. Thereupon, all other things being fitted for the attempt, the queen pretended a great desire to visit the parts of Scotland which lay northwards, and Gordon promoted her desire, by his forward invitation. At last, when she came to Aberdeen, Aug. 13. Gordon's wife, a woman of a manly spirit and cunning, used all her art to sift out the queen's mind, both to know her secret thoughts, and also to incline them to her own party: She knew well enough, that the designs of princes are alterable by small matters, many times; neither was she ignorant, how the queen stood affected a little before, towards both of them, Murray and Gordon too; for she, hating them both, had sometimes deliberated privately with herself, which of them she should destroy first. She could not bear with the innocency of Murray, as being a curb to her licentiousness; and as for Gordon, she had experienced his perfidiousness against her father first, and next her mother; and besides, she feared his power: But the letter of her uncles and the pope rather urged her to destroy Murray. Gordon was not ignorant of the matter; and therefore, to cast the balance, he promised by his wife to restore the Roman religion. The queen was glad of that; yet there was one impediment, and that no great one, which kept her from assenting to him; and that was, that she did not think it to stand with her honour, to be reconciled to John his son (who, a few days before had been committed to prison for a tumult raised at Edinburgh, but had made his escape) unless he returned to Stirling, to be there a prisoner of state, at least for a few days. The queen insisted upon this, not so much for that cause which was pretended, as that she might have her way clear, when Murray was killed, and might not be compelled to marry, when her lover was absent. Gordon was willing to satisfy the queen, yet made some scruple to give his son as a pledge into the hands of a man, who was the most adverse of all others to his designs (and that was John earl of Marr, Murray's uncle, governor of Stirling castle) especially being uncertain how the queen would take the murder, when it was committed. Whilst these cunning wits endeavoured to impose one upon another, and were mutually suspicious, the queen affirming, that the delay was not on her part, that the matter was not despatched; and yet she used no expedition neither; John Gordon, to shew himself officious, and to watch all events, had got together about 1000 of his friends and tenants, well armed, and had quartered them up and down in the neighbourhood near the town. But Murray, though he had not much help at hand, and saw that all these things were prepared for his ruin, for he had had advices of it by his friends, both from the French and English courts; neither placed he much confidence in the queen; yet (in the day time) he performed his usual ser-

vice in the court, and at night had only one or two of his servants to watch in his chamber; and being often informed of the plots of his enemies against him, yet, by the help of his friends, he disappointed all their purposes, without any noise.

About the same time, Botliwell was let down by a rope out of a window, and so escaped from the castle of Edinburgh. Matters were put to a stand at Aberdeen, by reason of the dissimulation on both sides. And the queen intending to make a further progress, was invited by John Lesly, a nobleman, and client of Gordon's, to his house, about twelve miles off: That being a lonesome place, seemed fit to the Gordons to commit the murder: but Lesly, who knew their secret design, intreated them not to put that brand of infamy on himself and his family, that he of all men should betray the queen's brother, a man not otherwise bad, against whom he had no private grudge. The next night they spent quietly enough at Rothemay, a town of the Abernethys, because the day after they determined to lodge at Strathbogy, a castle of the Gordons; so that they deferred the murder till that time, because there all would be in their power. In their journey Gordon had a long discourse with the queen; and at last he came to this, plainly to desire the queen to pardon his son John; that, being a young man, and ignorant of the laws, he had made his escape out of prison, into which he was cast for no heinous offence, only for a commotion, which was not raised by him neither. But the queen urged, that her authority would be vilified, unless his son would return, at least for some days, into another prison, though a larger one; that so his former fault being, as it were, expiated, he might be discharged in a handsomer way. Though it was but a slight command, yet Gordon, who was unwilling to lose the opportunity of committing the designed fact, obstinately refused to comply with it, either because he might cast the blame of the murder upon his son, if the queen did not approve it when it was done; or because, if the thing should be done in the absence of his son, though she was not unwilling, yet he should be kept as an hostage.

The queen was so much offended at this stubbornness of Gordon, that when she was almost in sight of his house, she turned aside another way. So that the whole plot, so wisely contrived as they thought, was now quite thrown off the hinges, till they came to Inverness. For there, besides Gordon's being lord president for the administration of justice, he also commanded the queen's castle, which was seated on an high hill, and commanded the town; and besides, the whole country thereabouts were his vassals. The queen determined to lodge in the castle, but was not suffered by the guards. Being thus excluded, she began to fear, in regard she was to lodge in an unfortified town; and, in

the mean time, Huntly's son had about 1000 choice horse now in arms, besides a promiscuous multitude from the parts adjacent. But the queen, taking counsel from her present circumstances, set a watch at all the avenues of the town. She commanded the ships which had brought her provisions, to ride ready in the river, that, if her guards were beaten off, she might have retreat to them. In the middle of the night, some scouts were sent out by Huntly; and the first watch let them pass on purpose, till they came to a narrow passage; they were all surrounded and taken. And among the highlanders, the M'Intosh's tribe, as soon as they understood they were to fight against the queen, forsook Huntly, and came to her the day after into the town. A great multitude of the highlanders, when they heard of the danger of their queen, partly by persuasion, and partly of their own accord, came in; and especially the Frasers and Munroes, valiant families in those countries. The queen being now secure against any force, began to besiege the castle. The besieged were not enough in number, neither was the place well fortified or prepared to bear a siege, so that it was surrendered to her. The chief persons that defended it were put to death; the rest were sent to their own homes. The nobility came in from all parts; upon the coming of some, others were permitted to go home. So, on the fourth day after, with a guard strong enough, she returned to Aberdeen. There being freed from fear, she was mightily inflamed with hatred against Gordon; and being eager for revenge, she again received her brother, outwardly, into her favour, pretending, that her dependance was wholly on him. Nay, she endeavoured to persuade others, that her safety and her own life was bound up in his. Hereupon Gordon perceiving, that the whole face of the court was altered; that the earl of Murray, lately designed for the slaughter, was now in great favour; and that himself was fallen from the top of his aspiring hopes, and made the object of a mortal hatred; and thinking he was gone farther than would admit of a retreat or pardon, betook himself to desperate counsels. He thought no remedy better for his present danger, than by all means to get the queen into his power. And though he knew he should grievously offend her at present by the attempt, yet he did not despair but a woman's heart might be made flexible in time, by observance, flattery and the marriage of his son, of which her uncles were supposed to be the contrivers.

This design he communicated to his friends, and resolved, by some means or other, to remove Murray out of the way; for if that was but once done, there was none besides, to whom the queen would commit the government; or who was able to manage it. His spies gave him hopes, that the thing was feasible; and, amongst others, George Gordon, earl of Sutherland, who

was a daily attendant at court, and, pretending good-will to the queen, fished out all her counsels, and, by messengers proper for the purpose, acquainted Huntly with them: nay, he did not only observe the opportunity of time and place, but also promised his assistance to effect it. Besides, the town lay open on every side, and exposed to any private attempt; the inhabitants either won by bribery, or joined by alliances, or terrified by danger, would attempt nothing to the contrary. The highlanders were dismissed; with the earl of Murray there were but a few, and they too came from remote parts, whom he did not much fear to disoblige: and, seeing all the neighbouring countries were in his power, the matter might be transacted without bloodshed, and only one man's death might put the queen into his hands; the other wounds might be easily cured. These things drove him on to attempt the matter: and when the way to accomplish it was ready fixed, some letters of the earl of Sutherland and John Lesly were intercepted, which discovered the whole intrigue. Sutherland, upon the discovery, fled for it; but Lesly acknowledged his fault, and obtained pardon, and ever after, as long as he lived, performed true and faithful service, first to the queen, then to the king. Huntly, who with a great body of men, waited the event of his design, in a place almost inaccessible, by reason of the marshes that lay round there, by the advice of his friends, determined to retreat to the mountains; but many of the neighbouring nobility then with the queen, being his friends, he trusted to their promises, and therefore altered his resolution, and determined to abide the success of a battle in that advantageous place. Murray had scarce a hundred horse in which he could confide; but there followed him of the nobles then present, James Douglas earl of Morton, and Patrick Lindsay; with these he marched forth against the enemy; the rest were countrymen of the neighbourhood, gathered together, about eight hundred, whom Huntly for the most part had corrupted before, and were more likely to draw on Murray's men to their ruin, than to give them any aid; yet they made mighty boast, and were mighty big in their expressions, promising, that they themselves, without any other help, would subdue the enemy; and that others should have nothing to do but to look on, and stand as spectators of their actions. Some horsemen were sent before to guard all the passages about the marsh, that Huntly might not escape. The rest marched softly after; and though the night before, many of the Gordonians had slipped away, yet he had still with him above 300 men, maintaining themselves in their posts. When Murray came thither, he stood with his party in rank and order, on a small hill, where he overlooked all the marsh; the rest, as they were advancing towards the enemy, gave

evident tokens of treachery, putting boughs of heath on their caps (for that plant grows in abundance in those parts) that they might be known by the enemy. When they came near, the Huntleans, secure of the success, hasten to them, and seeing the adverse army disordered by the traitors, and put to flight, that they might more nimbly pursue them, they threw away their lances, and with their drawn swords, to terrify those ranks that stood, they cried out, *Treason, Treason*, and poured in with great violence upon the enemy. The traitors thinking, that they should also put to flight the standing party, made haste towards it. But Murray perceiving no hope in flight, and that nothing remained but to die nobly, cried out to his party to hold out their lances, and not to let those that were running away come in amongst them. They, being thus unexpectedly excluded from both wings, passed by in great disorder. But the Huntleans, who now thought the matter ended, and the victory sure, when they saw a party, though but small, standing in a terrible manner, with their pikes forward, they, who were making towards them in confusion, and quite out of order, and could not come in to handy-blows, by reason of the length of their spears, being struck with a sudden terror, fled as swiftly as they had pursued before. The revolvers perceiving this change of fortune, pressed upon them in their flight, and, as if willing to make amends for their former fault, they were the men that made all the slaughter of the day. There were 120 of the Huntleans slain, and 100 taken prisoners; not so much as a man of the other army was lost. Among the prisoners were Huntly himself, and his two sons, John and Adam. The father being an old man, fat and corpulent, died in the hands of those who took him; the rest were brought to Aberdeen late at night. Murray had appointed a minister of the gospel to wait for his return; where, in the first place, he gave thanks to God Almighty, who, out of his mercy alone, beyond all men's expectation, without any strength or wisdom of his own, had delivered him and his men out of so imminent a danger. Afterwards he went to court, where, though many congratulated him, yet the queen gave no sign of joy at all, either in her speech, or her countenance.

A few days after, John Gordon was put to death, who was generally pitied and lamented. For he was a manly youth, very beautiful, and entering on the prime of his age; not so much designed for the royal bed, as deceived by the pretence of it, and that which moved no less indignation than pity was, that he was beheaded by an unskilful executioner. The queen beheld his death with many tears, but as she was prone to conceal and counterfeit affections, so various descants were made upon her grief and passion; and the rather because most people knew that she hated her

brother no less than Huntly. Adam was pardoned as being a youth; George the eldest son, in this desperate case, fled from his house to his father-in-law James Hamilton, there to shelter himself, or else to obtain his pardon through his mediation. As for Gordon's followers, just as the degrees of their offences were, more or less, some were fined, others banished the land, others were sent into remote parts of the kingdom, that they might raise no more commotions at home. Those who had the good fortune to have powerful intercessors, were pardoned their offences, and taken into former grace and favour. Matters being thus settled, or at least appeased for the present, the rest of the winter was spent in peace.

The 27th of November, Bothwell, who had escaped out of prison, was by a proclamation commanded to render himself again, and he not obeying, was declared a public enemy. When the queen was returned from Aberdeen to St. Johnston, James Hamilton came to her, to beg pardon for George Gordon his son-in-law. And though he had a gracious answer, yet he was forced to give up his son-in-law, who was sent prisoner to Dunbar; and the next year after, which was 1563, on the 26th of January, was brought to Edinburgh, there condemned for treason, and sent back to Dunbar.

It was about this time that there came out a proclamation, that no flesh should be eaten in Lent, on the penalty of a fine. The pretence was (not any thing of religion, but) civil advantage only. The archbishop of St. Andrews, because he did not forbear to hear and say mass, after the edict made at the coming in of the queen, was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. Others, guilty of the same fault, were punished but slightly, yet were threatened to be more severely treated, if they offended in the like sort again.

And now came the day for the session of parliament which was summoned to be held the 20th day of May, where the queen, with the crown on her head, and in her royal robes, went in great pomp to the parliament-house, a new sight to many; but that men had been accustomed to bear the government of women in her mother's and grand-mother's days. In that assembly some statutes were made in favour of the reformed, and some coiners were punished. The queen spent the rest of the summer in Athol, where she took the diversion of hunting.

At the end of autumn, Matthew Stewart earl of Lennox, by the queen's leave returned to Scotland, having been unworthily deserted by the king of France, the 22d year after his departure, as I said before. And the next year, which was 1564, in the month of January, at a convention of the estates, held almost on purpose for that very thing, his banishment was remitted, and his

goods restored, the queen seconding that remission with many favourable words, and repeating the many great services the earl had done her in her very infancy; she having been delivered out of her enemies' hands, and advanced to her throne by his means. Afterwards Henry his son came out of England into Scotland, on the 12th of February, having there obtained a convoy for three months. The queen of Scots received this young man very graciously, being of high descent, very beautiful, the son of her aunt; she took delight daily in his company, and the common saying was, that she would marry him; neither was the nobility again t it, because they saw many advantages might redound to Britain by that marriage, if it could be made with the queen of England's consent: both of them were allied to her in an equal degree of consanguinity; and she was so far from being against it, that she was willing rather to seem the author of it, and to lay some obligation upon her in making the match; besides, Elizabeth thought it for her own advantage, to humble the power of her relation, by this condescending marriage, that it might not swell beyond what was safe and fit for neighbours. But when all was concluded on, there fell out an unlucky business, which a little retarded all, and turned every thing as it were upside down. To make it plain, I must deduce the original story a little higher.

There was one David Rizio, born at Turin in Savoy, his father being honest, but poor, got a mean livelihood for himself and family, by teaching young people the first grounds of music; and having no other patrimony to leave his children, he made them all of both sexes, skilful musicians. David was one of them, who, being in the prime of his youth, and having a voice, placed some hopes in his art, of bettering his fortune. He went to Nice, to the duke of Savoy's court, which place that duke had newly obtained; but, meeting with no entertainment there answerable to his hopes, contriving every way to relieve himself in his penury, it was his chance to light upon Morettius, who, by the duke's command, was then preparing for a voyage to Scotland, and he accompanied him into Scotland; but Morettius being a man of no great estate, and looking upon his service as unnecessary and useless, he resolved to stay in Scotland, and try his fortune there, especially because he had heard that the queen took great delight in music, and was not ignorant of the grounds of it herself. Well, to make way to her presence, he first dealt with her musicians, of which many were French, to admit him into their society, which they did; and, having played his part once or twice, was liked very well; whereupon he was made one of their set and company; and he so complied with the queen's humour, that, partly flattering her, and partly by undermining others, he grew high in her favour, and got him the extreme hatred and envy of

his fellow-musicians. Neither was he content with this favourable turn of fortune; but he despised his equals too, and by sly insinuations and accusations, wormed them out of their places; then he rose higher, and began to treat about matters of state, and by degrees was made secretary; and by that means had opportunity of private converse with the queen apart from others.

The sudden advancement of this man, from a low and almost beggarly estate, to so much power, wealth, and dignity, afforded matter of discourse to the people. His fortune was above his virtue; and his arrogance, contempt of his equals, and contention with his superiors, were above his fortune. The vanity and madness of the man was much increased and nourished by the flattery of the nobility; who sought his friendship, courted him, admired his judgment, walked before his lodgings, and observed his levee. But Murray alone, who had no dissimulation in his heart, was so far from fawning on him, that he gave him many a sour look, which troubled the queen, as much as David himself; but he, on the other side, to uphold himself in his station, against the hatred of the nobility, applied himself with great adulation to the young gentleman who was to be the queen's husband; so that he came to be so familiar with him, as to be admitted to his chamber and bed-side, and to a secret conference with him; where, taking the advantage of his unwary credulity and forwardness to compass his desires, he persuaded him, that he was the chief occasion of the queen's placing her eye upon him. Besides, he threw in seeds of discord betwixt him and Murray every day, as knowing, that if he was but removed, he should pass the residue of his life without any affront or disturbance.

There was now much talk abroad, not only of the queen's marriage with Henry, and his secret recourse to her; but also of the too great familiarity betwixt her and David Rizio. Murray, who, by his plain, downright advice to his sister, got nothing but her ill-will, resolved to leave the court, that so he might not be thought the author of what was acted there. And the queen was willing enough, that so severe a supervisor of her actions should withdraw, especially in a season, whilst she was strengthening the contrary faction. For she recalled those who were banished, Bothwell from France, and George Gordon earl of Sutherland, from Flanders. She delivered the other George Gordon, son to the earl of Huntly, out of prison, and restored him to his former place and dignity. When Bothwell was returned from France, Murray accuses him of the treacherous practices he had lately committed against him. Some of those noblemen and gentlemen who were his familiars in France, were witnesses against him. The matter was clear, and heinous to a degree of enormity. A day was appointed for the trial; but the queen first dealt earnestly

with her brother, to desist from the prosecution; which he refused, judging his credit to be much at stake, which way soever the balance inclined. What did the queen do next, but write letters to many of the nobility not to appear at the time appointed. And, as Alexander, earl of Glencairn, Murray's intimate friend, was passing by Stirling, she sent for him out of the way to her; yet all good men were so well agreed in the case, that Bothwell being prejudged and condemned beforehand in his own conscience, and moved with the general detestation of the wicked attempt, durst not abide the trial. This favour of the people to Murray, so enraged the queen's mind against him, that she hastened his long before designed end; and the manner she took to accomplish it was this: Murray was to be sent for to Perth, where the queen was with a few attendants. There Darnly was to discourse him, and in the conference they all knew he would speak his mind freely; and then a quarrel would arise; upon which David Rizio was to give him the first blow, then the rest were to wound him to death. Murray was made acquainted with this conspiracy by his friends at court, yet, come what would, he resolved to go. But, as he was on his journey, being again advised by Patrick Ruthven, he turned aside to his mother's house, near Lochleven, and, being troubled with a lask, excused himself, and staid there. Some of his friends came thither to visit him; upon which a report was presently spread, that he staid there to intercept the queen and Darnly in their return to Edinburgh; whereupon horsemen were sent out, but they discovered no men in arms, or sign of any force, yet the queen made such haste, and was so fearful in this journey, as if some great danger had been near.

The marriage was now at hand, and a great part of the nobility called together at Stirling, that the queen might countenance her will and pleasure with some pretence of public consent. Most of those they sent for were such as they knew would easily give their assent; or else that durst not oppose. Many of those so congregated, assented to the motion, provided always that no alteration should be made in the then established religion; but the most part complied without any exception, to gratify the queen; only Andrew Stewart of Ochiltree openly professed, that he would never give his consent to the admission of a popish king. As for Murray, he was not averse to the marriage, (for he was the first adviser, that the young man should be called out of England) but he foresaw what tumults it would occasion, provided it should be celebrated without the consent of the queen of England. Besides, he promised to procure her consent, that so all things might go on favourably, provision being made about religion; but, perceiving that there would be no freedom of debate in that convention, he chose rather to be absent, than to declare his opinion, which

might prove destructive to himself, and no way advantageous to the commonwealth.

Moreover, there was a question started and discoursed amongst the vulgar. Whether the queen, upon her husband's death, might not marry any other man, whom she pleased? Some were of opinion, that a queen might have the same freedom as people even of the commonalty have. Others, on the contrary, affirmed, that the case was different in reference to heirs of kingdoms, where, at one and the same time, an husband were to be taken to a wife, and a king to be given to the people; and that it was far more equitable, that all the people should provide an husband for *one* young queen, than that *one* young queen should chuse a king for *all* the people.

In the month of July came an ambassador from England, who declared, that his mistress could not help wondering, that since they were both equally allied to her, they should precipitate so great an affair without acquainting her with it; and therefore she earnestly desired, that they would stay a little while, and weigh the thing a little more seriously, to the great advantage, probably, of both kingdoms. This embassy had no effect. Upon that sir Nicholas Throckmorton was sent by the queen of England, to tell Lennox and his son, that they had a convoy from her, to return at a set day, and that day was now past, and therefore she commanded them to return; and if they did not, they were to be banished, and their goods confiscated. They were not at all terrified with these threats; but persisted in their purpose. In the mean time, the queen being sensible that it would seem a very incongruous match, if she who was lately the wife of a great king, and besides, the heiress of an illustrious kingdom, should marry a private young man, who had no title of honour conferred upon him, she made an edict, proclaiming Darnly duke of Rothesay, and earl of Ross. Moreover, the predictions of wizzardly women in both kingdoms, contributed very much to hasten the marriage. These, it seems, prophesied, that if it was consummated before the end of July, it would prove of much future advantage to them both; if not, of much reproach and ignominy. Besides, rumours were spread abroad of the death of the queen of England, and the day mentioned, before which she should die. Which prediction seemed not so much to divine things, as to declare a conspiracy of her subjects against her. This also added much to the queen's haste; she knew her uncles would be averse to the marriage; and if it should be longer delayed, she feared they would find out some new obstacle, and break off the match, which was upon the point of being concluded.

For when the secret decree and resolution was made, to carry on the holy war through all Christendom, and Guise was ap-

pointed general of the league to extirpate the reformed religion, it made him have high and ambitious hopes, and therefore he determined by his sister's daughter, so to trouble Britain with domestic tumults, that they should not be able to aid their friends beyond sea. And David, who could then do most with the queen, urged, that the marriage would be highly advantageous to all Christendom, because Henry Darnly and his father were stiff maintainers of the popish religion, and very gracious in both kingdoms, allied to great families, and had large clans under their command. This being long debated, was at last carried; for he knew, that if the marriage was made by the consent of the queen of England, and the nobility of Scotland, he should incur two great disadvantages: one, that he should be noways in favour as before; and the other, that the reformed religion would be secured. But if the queen adhered to the council of Trent, then he promised honours, ecclesiastical dignities, heaps of money, and unrivalled power, to himself. So that, turning every stone, he at last procured that the marriage should be hastened; though the Scots were not much for it, and the English were very much against it.

MARY and HENRY STEWART.* 1565.

HENRY Stewart was married to Mary Stewart, July 29th: and Oyes being made, proclamation of it was publicly read, with the applause of the multitude, *God save Henry and Mary, king and queen of Scotland*; and the day after they were proclaimed in like manner by an herald at Edinburgh. This affair gave mighty offence to the nobility, and to the commons too; nay, some fretted, and openly stormed, that it was a thing of the worst example that ever was. For to what purpose was it to call a council about constituting a king, and never to ask their advice, nor to comply with their authority; but to set up an herald instead of a senate, and a proclamation, for a statute of parliament or order of council? So that it was not (say they) a consultation, but an essay rather, how the Scots would bear the yoke of tyranny. The absence of so many nobles increased the suspicion. The chief nobility were away, as, James duke of Chatelherault, Gillespy earl of Argyle, James earl of Murray, Alexander earl of Glencairn, Andrew earl of Rothes, and many others of rich and noble families. Heralds were sent to them to come in; which

* Note, that the name of Henry, as joined with Mary, in the title, though before their marriage, is accounted for at the close of the catalogue of the Scottish kings, prefixed before the body of this history.

they not doing, were banished, and went most of them into Argyle, and their enemies were recalled to court. The king and queen having got as many forces together, as they thought were sufficient to subdue the rebels, came with 4000 men to Glasgow. The rebels kept at Paisley, where various consultations were held, according to the disposition of the parties. The king and queen sent an herald at arms to have the castle of Hamilton surrendered to them; which not being done, they prepared themselves for the fight. The contrary faction was at variance one with another, and divided into several opinions. The Hamiltons, who had the greatest power in those parts, were of opinion, that no firm peace could be made, till the king and queen were both taken out of the way; as long as they were safe, nothing could be expected but new wars, continual plots, and a counterfeit peace, worse than an open war. "Private men (said they) may forget injuries offered them, being weary of prosecuting them; yea, sometimes they are recompensed with great advantages; but the wrath of princes is not to be quenched but by death alone." But Murray and Glencairn, who understood that their discourse was not founded on the good of the public but their private advantage (for upon the queen's death, they were the next heirs to the crown) did equally abhor the prince's death, and Hamilton's government, which they had lately experienced to be avaricious and cruel; so that they were for milder counsels; and, in regard it was a civil dissension, in which, as yet, there had been no blood shed, the disputes having been hitherto managed by votes, not arms, they thought fit, if possible, to end it by an honest agreement. They thought many in the king's army would hearken to such a proposal, as being desirous of peace, and would not be wanting to plead for those, that, in defence of their liberties, were forced to take up arms. As for the king and queen, they being yet young, might not perhaps be so provident; however they had not yet so far transgressed, as to endanger the commonwealth. As for private vices, which affected their own names and reputations only, it was fitter they were cured by other remedies than death; for they remembered it was an old caution transmitted to them from their ancestors, for their observation, *That hidden vices ought to be overlooked in the lives and manners of princes: that those that would bear a double construction, ought to be taken in the best sense; and their open ones so far borne with, as they did not endanger the ruin of the public.* This opinion pleased the most, and the rest of the Hamiltons acquiesced in it, and resolved to be quiet; only James, chief of their family, with sixteen horse, remained with the nobility, who being lessened by the recess of the Hamiltons, were not able to give battle to the enemy, nor yet to break through, each to his own clan; and therefore they complied with the neces-

sity of the times, and came that night to Hamilton, and the next day to Edinburgh, to consult how to manage the war: But in regard the castle, which commanded the town, continually played upon them, and their friends could not come in so soon from remote parts, as was requisite, and, moreover, the king and queen were reported to be near them with their forces; they, by the great persuasions and promises of John Maxwell of Herries directed course towards Dumfries. The king and queen returned back to Glasgow, and left the earl of Lennox, their lieutenant in the country towards the south-west: They themselves went afterwards to Stirling, and thence into the middle of Fife. They made the greatest part of the nobility take an oath, That if any commotion arose from England, they would faithfully oppose it; the rest were punished, some by fine, some by banishment. The goods of those who fled into England, wherever they could find them, were seized upon, and they appointed commissoners of oyer and terminer, to be held in all counties, to enquire into the remains of the rebellion.

On the 9th of October, they drew out their army from Edinburgh, and marched towards Dumfries. Maxwell, who till that time had pretended to be deeply in with the party which was against the king, thinking it now a fit opportunity to make his own market, went out to meet them, as if he would have interceded for a general pardon. He dealt with them to have part of his father-in-law's estate, which he had a great mind to: They looked upon him as an active subtle man, fit for counsel and business, and granted his request: Then he returned to the rebels, and told them, he could do them no good; and therefore they must all shift for themselves; England was near at hand, if they would retire thither, after he had settled his affairs at home, he would follow them, and live and die with the party. In the interim, he got 1000 pounds of Murray, upon the account of money which he alleged he had expended in listing some horse: For being commanded to raise some few troops of horse, he caused all his domestics to appear, as if they had been soldiers formally inlisted. The rebels were put in an universal consternation at the appearance of the king and queen, and at Maxwell's revolt from them; so that the king and queen did what they pleased: They drove away most of the leaders of the faction, and the rest were intent on the event of their danger; so that about the end of October, they returned to Edinburgh, and all things were quiet in Scotland till the beginning of the next ensuing spring.

A convention of all the estates of the kingdom was summoned to be held in March; that so the goods of those who were banished might be confiscated, their names struck out of the roll of the nobility, and their coats of arms, and trophies of honour

torn in pieces; neither of which the kings of Scotland can lawfully do, without an act of parliament. In the interim, David, perceiving the court to be quite empty of nobility, and thinking it an opportunity to shew and declare the excessive reach of his power, put the queen upon severe counsels, daily pressing her to cut off some of the chief of the faction; if a few of them (said he) were executed, the rest would be quiet: And as he thought the queen's guard being Scotsmen, would not easily consent to the cruel murder of the nobility, he was very intent to have them thrown out of their places, and to introduce foreigners in their room (a project that is wont to be the beginning of all tyranny) first, mention was made of sending for some Germans over for that service; because that nation was remarkably loyal to its princes. But, when David had considered seriously with himself, he thought it conduced to his interest to have Italians; first, because, being his countrymen, he presumed they would be more at his devotion: next, that being men of no religion, they would be fitter to make disturbances; so that he thought they might easily be induced to venture upon any design, right or wrong; for, being wicked and indigent persons, born and bred up to tyrants used to war, and far from their own home, they would not care what became of Britain; and therefore seemed the most proper instruments to attempt innovations. Then soldiers of fortune were privately sent for out of Flanders, and other countries of the continent; but they were to come by piece-meal, as it were one by one, and at several times too, that the design might not be detected. *It would be more dangerous* (said he) *to offend any one of those ruffians, than the queen herself.*

But, as David's power and authority with the queen daily increased, so the king daily lost favour with her; for, as she had been rashly precipitate in making the marriage, so she as soon repented, and gave manifest tokens of an altered mind. For, as presently after the marriage was celebrated, she had publicly proclaimed him king by an herald, without the consent of the estates, and afterwards in all her mandates, till that time the king and queen's name were expressed, she began to change the order, keeping both names in, but setting her own first. At length the queen, to deprive her husband of all opportunity of doing kindness for any, found fault with him; that whilst he was busy in hawking and hunting, many state matters were unseasonably carried on, or else were wholly omitted; and therefore it would be better that she might subscribe her name for them both; and, by this means, he might enjoy his pleasure, and yet no public business be retarded. He was willing to gratify her in every thing, and yielded to be dismissed upon such frivolous grounds, that so, being remote from the council and privy of public affairs, the

obligation of all boons might redound to the queen herself. For she thought thus with herself, that if her husband's favour could do no good offices for any, and his anger were formidable to none, he would by degrees fall into universal contempt of all; and to increase the indignity, David was substituted with an iron seal, to impress the king's name on proclamations. He, thus fraudulently cheated out of public business, lest he might likewise prove an interrupter of their private pleasures, in a very sharp winter was sent away to Pebly, with a small retinue, far beneath the dignity of some private persons, for a prey, rather than recreation. At the same time there fell such a quantity of snow, that, the place not being very plentiful, and besides, being infested with thieves, he that was always bred up at court, and used to a liberal diet, was in great hazard of wanting necessities, unless the bishop of Orcades had casually come thither; for he, knowing the scarcity of the place, brought him some wine, and other provisions for his use.

The queen was not content to raise David out of his obscurity, and to shew him to the people, but she contrived another way how to clothe him with domestic honour: for whereas the queen had, for some months before, permitted more company than was usual to sit with her at table; that so in the crowd David's place might be less envied. By this face of popularity she thought that such an unusual sight would be, in some measure rendered more familiar, by the multitude of guests, and daily usage, and so men's high stomachs by degrees be inured to bear any thing. At last it came to this, that none but he, and one or two more, sat at table with her; and that the littleness of the room might take off something from the envy of the thing, sometimes she would eat in a small parlour, sometimes at David's own lodgings. But the way she thus took to abate, did but increase the reflections; for it nourished suspicions, and gave occasion to odd discourses: men's thoughts were now inclined to the worst; and what served to inflame them was, that he exceeded even the king himself in household stuff, in apparel, and in the number of brave and stately horses; and the matter looked the worse for this, because all this ornament did not credit his face, but his face rather spoiled all this ornament.

But the queen, not being able to amend the faults of nature, endeavoured, by heaping wealth and honour upon him, to raise him up to the degree of the nobles, that she might cover the meanness of his birth, and the defects of his body, with the lustre of dignity and promotion; and that, having qualified him to sit and vote in parliament, she might be the better able to give such a turn as she pleased to the debates of that assembly. But he was to be advanced by degrees; lest he might seem to be but

a poor mercenary senator. And first she attempted to get him a piece of land near Edinburgh, which the Scots call Melvil. The owner of this land, his father-in-law, and others that were best able to persuade him, were sent for, and the queen deals with the present owner to part with his possessions; and she desired his father-in-law and friends to persuade him to it. But this matter not succeeding, the queen took the repulse as an affront to her; and, what was worse, David took it very heinously also. These things being noised abroad, the commonalty bewailed the sad state of affairs, and expected that things would grow worse, if men eminent for their nobility and reputation, should be turned out of their ancient patrimonies, to gratify the lust of a beggarly varlet; nay, many of the more ancient among them called to mind, and told others of that time, when Cochrane wickedly slew the king's brother, and from a stone-cutter was made earl of Mar; which raised up such a fire of civil war, that could not be extinguished but by the death of the king, and almost the destruction of the kingdom. These things were spoken openly, but in private men went farther in their mutterings (as it useth to be in matters not very creditable); yet the king would never be persuaded to believe it, unless he saw it with his own eyes; so that one time hearing that David was gone into the queen's bed-chamber, he came to a little door, the key of which he always carried about him, and found it bolted in the inside, which it never used to be. He knocked, no body answered; upon that, conceiving great wrath and indignation in his heart, he could hardly sleep a wink that night. From that time forward, he consulted with some of his domestics (for he durst trust but a few, many of them being corrupted by the queen, and put upon him rather as spies of his actions, than attendants on his person) how to rid David out of the way; they approved his design, but could not find a proper way to effect it. That consultation had been managed for some days, when others of his servants, who were not admitted to it, suspected the design, and there being evident tokens of it, they acquainted the queen with it, and told her, they would shew her the cabal, and they were as good as their words. They observed and watched their opportunity, when others were shut out, and the king had only his confidants with him. The queen, as if she were passing through his chamber to her own, surprised him with his partizans. Then she inveighed against him most bitterly, and highly threatened his domestics, telling them, all their plots were in vain; she knew all their minds and actions, and would take care of them in due time.

Matters being brought to this pass, the king acquaints his father with his unhappy condition. Both concluded, that the only remedy for the present malady was, to reconcile those of the no-

bility who were present, and to recal those that were absent. But great haste was required in the thing, because the day was near at hand, wherein the queen was resolved to condemn the nobles that were absent, she having called a convention of the estates for that purpose, against the wills of the French and English ambassadors, who interceded in the case. For they knew, that the accused had committed no such heinous offence; and besides, they foresaw the danger that would ensue.

About this time the queen of England sent her a very large and obliging letter, full of prudent advice, in reference to the present state of Scotland, endeavouring, in a gentle and loving way, to incline her kinswoman from a wrathful to a reconcileable temper. The nobility knew that such letters were come, and they guessed what the contents were; and thereupon the queen counterfeited a more civil respect to them than ordinary, and began to read them in the presence of many of them. As she went on, David stood up, and bade her *Read no more, she had read enough, she should stop.* That carriage of his seemed to them rather arrogant than new; for they knew how imperiously he had carried it towards her before; nay, and sometimes he would reprove her more sharply than her own husband ever durst do.

At that time the cause of the exiles was warmly disputed in the parliament-house; some to gratify the queen, would have the sentence due to traitors passed upon them; others contended, that they had done nothing that deserved so severe a treatment. In the mean time, David went about to all of them, one by one, to feel their pulses, what each one was inclined to do with the exiles, if he was chosen speaker by the rest of the convention. He told them plainly, the queen was resolved to have them condemned, and it was in vain for any of them to contend against it; and besides, he would be sure to incur the queen's displeasure by it. His design in this was, partly to confound the weaker spirits between hope and fear, and partly to exclude the more resolved out of the number of the judges select, or lords of the articles; or at least that the major part might be of such a kidney as might please the queen. This audacious improbity, of so mean a fellow, was feared by some, and hated by all. Upon that, the king, by his father's advice, sent for James Douglas and Patrick Lindsay, his kinsmen, one by the father, the other by the mother's side. They advise with Patrick Ruthven, an able man both for advice and execution; but he was so weakened with a long and tedious sickness, that for some months he could not rise out of his bed; however, they were willing to trust him, amongst some few others, in a matter of such mighty moment, both by reason of his great prudence, and also because his children were cousin-germans to the king. The king was told by them, what a great er-

ror he had committed before, in suffering his kinsmen and friends to be driven from court, in favour of such a base miscreant as Rizio; nay, he himself did, in effect, thrust them out from the court with his own hand, and so had advanced such a contemptible mushroom, that now he himself was despised by him. They had likewise a great deal of other discourse concerning the state of the public. The king was quickly brought to acknowledge his fault, and to promise to act nothing for the future, without the consent of the nobility.

But those wise and experienced counsellors thought it not safe to trust the verbal promises of an uxurious young man, as believing that he might in time be enticed by his wife to deny this capitulation, to their certain ruin; and therefore they drew up the heads of their contract in writing; which he was very willing, nay forward, to subscribe. The heads were, *For the establishing religion, at it was provided for at the queen's return to Scotland: To restore the persons lately banished, because their country could not well be without their service: To destroy David; for, as long as he was alive, the king could not maintain his dignity, nor the nobility live in safety.* They all set their hands to this schedule, wherein the king professing himself to be the author of the homicide, they resolved presently to attempt the fact, both to prevent the condemnation of the absent nobles, and also, lest delay might discover their design. And therefore, when the queen was at supper, in a narrow private room, the earl of Argyle's wife and David sitting with her, as they were wont, and but few attendants, for the room would not hold many; James Douglas, earl of Morton, with a great number of his friends, were walking in an outer chamber, their faithful friends and vassals were commanded to stay below in the yard, to quiet the tumult, if any should be. The king comes out of his own chamber, which was below the queen's, and goes up to her by a narrow pair of stairs, which were open to none but himself; Patrick Ruthven followed him armed, but with four or five companions at most. They entered into the parlour where they were at supper; and the queen, being something moved at that unusual appearance of armed men, and also perceiving Ruthven haggard and lean by reason of his late disease, and yet in his armour, asked him, *What was the matter?* For the spectators thought, that his fever had disturbed his head, and put him beside himself. He commanded David to rise, and come forth; for the place he sat in was not fit for him. The queen presently rose, and sought to defend him by the interposal of her body; but the king took her in his arms, and bade her take courage, they would do her no hurt, only the death of that villain was resolved on. They haled David out into the next, then into the outer chamber. There those that waited with Douglas, dis-

patched him at last, after having given him many wounds; which was against the mind of all those who conspired his death, for they resolved to hang him up publicly, as knowing it would be a grateful spectacle to all the people.

There went a constant report, that one John Damiot, a French priest, who was reputed a conjurer, told once or twice, *That now he had feathered his nest, he should be gone, and withdraw himself from the envy of the nobles, who would be too hard for him:* And that David answered, *The Scots were greater threateners than fighters.* He was also told a little before his death, *That he should take heed of a bastard.* To which he replied, *That, as long as he lived, no bastard should have so much power in Scotland, as that he need fear it.* For he thought his danger was predicted from Murray; but the prophecy was either fulfilled, or eluded, by George Douglas's giving him his first blow, who was a natural son of the earl of Angus. After he had once begun, then every one struck in order as he stood, not excepting the prince, either prompted by his own just resentment, or to come in for a share of the public vengeance. Hereupon a tumult arose all over the house, and the earls of Huntly, Athol, and Bothwell, who were at supper in another part of the palace, were rushing out; but they were kept within their chamber, by those who guarded the courts below, and had no harm done them. Ruthven went out of the parlour into the queen's bed-chamber; where not being able to stand, he sat down, and called for something to drink. Whereupon the queen fell upon him with such words as her present grief and fury suggested to her, calling him a perfidious traitor, and asked him, *How he durst be so bold, as to speak to her, sitting, whereas she herself stood?* He excused it, as not done out of pride, but weakness of body; but advised her, *That in managing the affairs of the kingdom, she would rather consult the nobility, who had a concern in the public welfare, than raggants, who could give no pledge for their loyalty, and who had nothing to lose, either in estate or credit; neither was the fact then committed, without a precedent: That Scotland was a kingdom bounded by laws, and was never wont to be governed by the will and pleasure of one man, but by the rule of the law, and the consent of the nobility; and, if any former king had done otherwise, he had smarted severely for it. Neither were the Scots at present so far degenerated from their ancestors, as to bear not only the government, but even the servitude of a stranger, who was scarce worthy to be their slave.* The queen was more enraged at this speech than before. Whereupon they departed, having placed guards in all convenient places, to hinder the rising of any tumult.

In the mean time, the news was carried all over the town; and was received as every one's disposition was, right or wrong; they took arms, and went to the palace. There the king shewed

himself to them out of a window, and told the multitude, *That he and the queen were safe, and there was no cause for their tumultuous assembly: What was done, was by his command; and what that was, they should know in time; and therefore, at present, every one should go to his own house.* Upon which command they withdrew, except some few, that staid to keep guard. The next day in the morning, the nobles that were returned from England, surrendered themselves to take their trial in the town-hall, being ready to plead their cause, for that was the day appointed; but no body appearing against them, they openly protested, that it was not their fault, for they were ready to submit to a legal trial; and so every one returned to his own lodging. The queen sent for her brother, and after a long conference with him, she gave him hopes, that ever after she would be advised by the nobles. Then the guards were lessened; though many thought, this her clemency presaged no good to the public; for she gathered together the soldiers of her old guard, and went through a back gate by night, with George Seton, who attended her with 200 horse, first to his castle, then to Dunbar. She carried also the king along with her; who was forced to obey, for fear of his life. There she gathered a force together, and pretending a reconciliation to those who were lately come from banishment, she turned her fury upon the murderers of David; but they, yielding to the times, shifted for themselves; and so, as if all were safe and quiet, she relapsed into her old humours. First of all, she caused David's body, which was buried before the door of a neighbouring church, to be removed in the night, and to be deposited in the sepulchre of the late king and his children: which being one of her unaccountable actions, gave occasion to bad reports: for what greater confession of adultery with him could she well make, than, as far as she was able, to make the funeral of such an obscure fellow, who was neither liberally brought up, nor had deserved well of the public, equal with those of her father and brothers? And, to increase the indignity of the thing, she put the miscreant almost into the arms of Magdalene Valois, the late queen. As for her husband, she threatened him, and gave him many side-blows in her discourses, and did her endeavour to take away all power from him, and to render him as contemptible as she could.

At this time the process was very severe against David's murderers; many of the accused were banished, some to one place, some to another; many were fined; some (but the most innocent, and therefore secure from any apprehension) put to death; for the prime of the faction were fled, some to England, others to the highlands. Those who were but the least suspected to have had a hand in it, had their offices and employments taken from them, and bestowed upon their enemies. And a proclamation was made

by an herald (which excited laughter amidst all this sorrow) *That no man should say, the king was a partaker in, or so much as privy to, David's death.* This commotion being a little settled, after the 13th day of April, the earl of Argyle and Murray were received into favour; and she herself drawing near her time, retired into Edinburgh castle; and on the 19th day of June, 1566, a little after nine o'clock at night, was brought to bed of a son, afterwards called James VI.



(A. C. 1566.)

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.



BOOK XVIII.

THE queen after her delivery, received all other visitants with kindness enough, suitable to the occasion of a public joy; but when her husband came, she and her attendants comported themselves so, in speech and countenance, as if they were afraid of nothing more, than that he should not understand, that his presence was disdained, and his company unacceptable to them all. But, on the contrary, Bothwell alone was the man; he managed all affairs. The queen was so inclined to him, that she would have it understood, no suit could be obtained from her, but by his mediation. And, as if she was afraid her favours to him were but mean, and not sufficiently known, on a certain day she took one or two with her, and went down to the haven called New-haven; and, her attendants not knowing whither she was going, she went on board a small vessel, prepared there for her: William and Edmund Blacadder, Edward Robertson, and Thomas Dickson, all Bothwell's creatures, and pirates of known rapacity, had fitted the ship before. With this guard of robbers, to the great admiration of all good men, she ventured to sea, taking none of her honest servants along with her. She landed at Alloa, a castle of the earl of Mar's; where she so demeaned herself for some time, as if she had forgot, not only the dignity of a queen, but even the modesty of a matron.

The king, when he heard of the queen's sudden departure, followed her as fast as he could by land: His design and hopes were, to be with her, and to enjoy mutual society, as man and wife: But he, as an importunate disturber of her pleasures, was ordered to go back from whence he came, and had hardly time allowed him for his servants to refresh themselves.

A few days after, the queen returned to Edinburgh; and because, it seems, she would avoid the crowd of people, she went not to her own palace, but to the house of a private man in the neighbourhood: From thence she went to another, where the annual convention, called the Exchequer-court, was then held, not so much for the largeness of the house, or the pleasures of the gardens, as, that one David Chalmers, a creature of Bothwell's, had a house near it, whose back-door was contiguous to the queen's garden, by which Bothwell might pass in and out to her, as often as he pleased. In the mean time, the king finding no place for favour with his wife, is sent away with injuries and reproaches; and having often tried her spirit, yet by no offices of observance could he obtain to be admitted to conjugal familiarity, as before; whereupon he retired in discontent to Stirling. A while after, the queen appointed to go to Jedburgh, to hold a convention. About the beginning of October, Bothwell prepared an expedition into Liddisdale; and carrying himself there, neither according to the place which he held, nor the dignity of his family, nor the expectation of any man, a pitiful highwayman, whom he had taken and almost dispatched with a leaden bullet unawares, wounded him, and so he was carried to Hermitage castle, in great danger of his life. When the news was brought to the queen at Borthwick, though the winter was very sharp, she flew in haste, first to Mulross, then to Jedburgh; there, though she received certain intelligence, that Bothwell was alive, yet being impatient of delay, and not able to forbear, though in such a bad time of the year, notwithstanding the difficulty of the way, and the danger of robbers, she put herself on her journey, with such attendants, as hardly any honest man, though he was but of mean condition would trust his life and fortune to. From thence she returned again to Jedburgh, and there she was mighty diligent in making great preparations for Bothwell's being brought thither: And truly, when he came there, their conversation together was little for the credit of either of them. At last the queen herself, either having fatigued nature too far by her continual toil and watching day and night; or else being particularly destined to it by the secret providence of God, fell into such a dangerous illness, that no body almost expected, or could hope for her life. When the king heard of it, he went that very moment to Jedburgh with all possible expedition, both to give her a visit, and to testify his ob-

servance by all the good offices he could; and also to incline her to a better course of life, hoping she might repent of what she had done; as people are wont to do, when they are in a great deal of danger. But she, on the contrary, would not shew the least sign of reconciliation; no, she charged nobody should rise up and salute him as he came in, and forbade their giving him so much as one single night's entertainment: But she suspecting the disposition of Murray, as being courteous and civil, desired his wife to make haste home, and feign herself sick, and go immediately to bed, that so on the pretence of sickness, the king might be excluded even from thence; thus she made it her business to force him to be gone, for want of lodging: Which he had done, had not one of the family of the Humes, even for very shame, pretended a sudden cause for his departure, and so left his lodging free for the king.

The next day in the morning, he returned again to Stirling: His return was the more reflected upon, because at the very same time, Bothwell was carried out of the place where he lodged, to the queen's lodgings, in the face of all the people; and though neither of them were well recovered, she from her disease, he from his wound, yet they travelled, first to Kelso, then to Coldingham, next to Craigmillar, (a castle two miles from Edinburgh) quite indifferent and careless as to the reports that were spread of them by the way. The queen, in all her discourse, professed that she could never live, unless she was divorced from the king; and that if she could not gain that point, she would lay violent hands on herself. She would ever and anon speak of a divorce, and would say, it might be easily effected, if the pope's bull was but recalled, by which pardon had been granted them for marrying contrary to the papal laws; but seeing this matter was not like to go as she expected (for these things were acted in the presence of many of the nobility) she left off all her other methods, and contrived nothing else in her mind, but how to dispatch him out of the world at once.

A little before winter, when the ambassadors from France and England came to be witnesses at the baptism of the prince, the queen strove, as far as money or industry could, to make Bothwell appear the most magnificent amongst all her subjects and guests at the entertainment; whereas her lawful husband was not allowed necessaries at the christening; nay, was forbid to come in sight of the ambassadors; and even his servants, that were appointed to be his daily attendants, were taken from him, and the nobility forbid to take any notice of him. But this her implacable carriage towards him, which the nobility noted both now and heretofore, moved them to have the greater compassion for him, when they saw a young and harmless person used after so re-

proachful a manner; and yet not only bear it patiently, but even endeavour to appease her rage by the most servile offices he could perform, in order, if possible, to win some degree of her favour. As for his dress, she put the fault upon the embroiderers, goldsmiths, and other tradesmen, though it was a false and shameful pretence; for every body knew she herself was the occasion of it; though for fear Bothwell should not have ornaments enough, she wrought many of them with her own hands. Besides foreign ambassadors were advised not to enter into discourse with the king, though they were in the same castle together the most part of the day,

The young king being thus uncourteously treated, exposed to the contempt of all, and seeing his rival honoured before his face, resolved to go to his father to Glasgow, who, as some thought, had sent for him. The queen shewed her usual hatred at his departure, she took away all the silver plate which he had used ever since he was married, and put pewter in their stead; besides, she gave him poison before he went away, that the evil might be more secret, if he died, when absent from court. But the poison wrought sooner, than those who gave it supposed it would; for, before he was gone a mile from Stirling, he had such a grievous pain all over his body, that it was very apparent his disease was not casual, but the act of fraud and treachery. However, as soon as he came to Glasgow, the mischief manifestly discovered itself; blue pustules arose all over his body, and put him in such pain and anguish, that there was little hope of his life. James Abernethy, a learned, a faithful, and an experienced physician, being consulted about his disease, answered presently, That he had taken poison. He sent for the queen's domestic physician, but the queen would not suffer him to go, for fear he should have skill enough to cure him; and besides, she was not willing that many should know of his being poisoned. When the ceremonies of christening were over, and the company, by degrees, got home, the queen was private with Bothwell, having scarce any more company, at Drummond and Tullibardine, noblemen's houses, where she spent a few days about the beginning of January, and so returned to Stirling, and pretended daily to go to Glasgow; but, expecting to hear every day of the king's death, to prevent the worst, she resolved to have her son in her own power; and that her design might occasion no suspicion, she began to find fault, that the house in which he was kept was inconvenient; that in a moist and cold place he might be subject to rheums: But the true cause of his removal was far otherwise; for it was very plain, that the place he was carried to, was far more obnoxious upon the aforesaid accounts, for that it was situate in a low marshy soil, having a mountain betwixt it and the

sun-rising. Upon that the child, though scarce seven months old, was brought, in a sharp winter, to Edinburgh. When she heard there that the king was recovered, as having overcome the poison, by the vigour of his youth, and the strength of his natural constitution, she renewed her plot to destroy him, acquainting also some of the nobility with her design. In the mean time news was brought her, that the king designed to fly to France or Spain, and that he had spoke about it with the master of an English ship, which was then in the frith of Clyde. Upon this, some thought that a fair occasion was offered her to send for him, and if he refused to come, to dispatch him out of the way; nay, some offered to be agents in the thing; all of them advised, that the bloody deed should be privately committed, and that it should be hastened, before he was perfectly recovered. The queen, having already got her son, that she might also have her husband in her power, though not as yet agreed in the design how he should be dispatched, resolved to go to Glasgow, having, as she thought, sufficiently cleared herself from his former suspicions, by many kind letters she had lately sent him. But her words and her actions did not at all agree; for she took almost none with her, in her retinue, but the Hamiltons and others, that were in a manner hereditary enemies of the king. In the mean time, she entrusts Bothwell with doing what must contribute to the design at Edinburgh; for that was the place that seemed most convenient to them, both to commit, and likewise to conceal so great a wickedness; for, there being a great assembly of the nobles, the suspicion might be put off from one to the other, and so divided between a great many. When the queen had tried all the ways she could to dissemble her hatred, at last, by many artful, upbraiding complaints and lamentations passed betwixt them, she could yet scarce make him believe, that she was reconciled to him. The king, scarce yet recovered from his disease, was brought in a litter to Edinburgh, to the place designed for his murder, which Bothwell, in the queen's absence, had undertook to provide, and that was, a house uninhabited for some years before, near the walls of the city, in a lonesome, solitary place, between the ruins of two churches, where no noise or outcry could be heard. There he was huddled in with a few attendants only; for the most part of them (being such as the queen had put upon him, rather as spies than servants) were gone out of the way, as foreknowing the danger at hand; and those that remained, could not get the keys of the door from the harbingers, that provided the lodgings.

The thing the queen was most intent upon was, to avert all suspicion from herself; and she proceeded so far in the art of dissimulation, that the king was fully persuaded there was a firm reconciliation betwixt them. So that he wrote letters to his father,

who staid behind sick at Glasgow, in which he gave him great hopes, and almost an assurance, that the queen was now sincerely his; and, commemorating her many good offices towards him, he now promised to himself, that all things would change for the better. As he was writing these letters, the queen came in on a sudden, and reading them, she gave him many embraces and kisses, telling him, *That sight mightily pleased her; that now she saw there was no cloud of suspicion hovering over his mind.*

Things being thus well secured on that side, her next care was to contrive, as much as possible, how to cast the guilt upon another; and therefore she sent for her brother Murray, who had lately obtained leave, and was going to St. Andrews, to visit his wife, who lay there, as he heard, dangerously sick. For, besides being with child, she had pustules, that rose all over her body, with a violent fever. She pretended the whole cause of her detaining him to be for no other end, but that she might honourably dismiss the duke of Savoy's ambassador, who came too late to the prince's christening; and though this seemed a mean pretence to take him off from so just and necessary a duty; yet he obeyed. In the interim, the queen made her visits to the king every day constantly, and reconciled him to Bothwell; whom she by all means desired to keep entirely unsuspected. She made him large promises of her affection for the time to come; which over-officious carriage, though suspected by all, yet no man was so bold, as to advise the king of his danger, because he had a habit of telling the queen whatever he heard, to insinuate the more into her favour; only Robert, the queen's brother, moved either with the execrable horror of the deed, or with pity to the young man, had the confidence to acquaint him of his wife's plot against him, but on this condition, that he would keep it to himself, and provide for his safety the best manner he could. The king notwithstanding revealed it to the queen, according to his custom; upon which Robert was called for, and he stoutly denied it, so that they gave one another the lie, and were laying their hands on their swords. The queen was glad to see, that her designs were likely to have so good a conclusion, and that so near at hand, without her trouble; and therefore she calls for her brother James, as if he was to decide the controversy; but her real intent was, that he might likewise be cut off on the same occasion. There was nobody present but Bothwell, who was so far from keeping them from fighting, that he would rather have killed him who had the worst of the combat himself, as plainly appeared, when he said, there was no reason James should be sent for in such haste, to keep those from duelling, who, whatsoever they pretended, had no such mighty stomach to it. This bustle being quieted, the queen and Bothwell were wholly intent how to per-

petrate the murder, and how to do it with all imaginable privacy. The queen, that she might feign both love to her husband, and a forgiveness of past offences, causes her bed to be brought from the palace, into a chamber below the king's, where she lay, after she had sat up late with him in discourse for some nights.

In the mean time, she advises all manner of ways to cast the odium of the fact, when committed, upon her brother James, and the earl of Morton; for she thought, if these two, whose real worth and authority was much feared and hated by her, were taken out of the way, all things else would fall in of themselves. She was likewise incited to this by letters from the pope, and from Charles, cardinal of Lorrain. For the summer before, having by her uncle desired a sum of money from the pope, for levying an army to disturb the state of religion in Britain; the pope more cunningly, but the cardinal plainly, had advised her to destroy those who were the greatest hindrances to the restitution of popery, and they took care to specify these two earls by name; if they were once taken off, they promised whole heaps of money for the war. The queen thought some distant tidings of this matter were come to the ears of the nobility; and therefore, to clear herself from any suspicion, or the least inclination to such a thing, she shewed them the letters. But these designs, so subtilely laid, as they seemed to be, were somewhat disturbed by frequent messengers from Murray's wife, how that she had miscarried, and that there were small hopes of her life. This message was brought him on the Lord's day, as he was going to hear sermon; whereupon he returned back to the queen, and desired leave of her to be gone. She very much urged him to stay one day longer, to hear more certain news, alleging, that if he made her so much haste, his coming would do her no good; but if her disease abated, that then the next morning would be time enough; but he was fully bent on his journey, and accordingly went. The queen had deferred the murder till that night, and to seem perfectly easy in her mind, she would needs celebrate the marriage of Sebastian, one of the musicians, in the very palace, and then the evening was past in mirth and jollity. Then she went with a numerous attendance to see her husband; she spent some hours with him, and was merrier than usual, often kissing him, and giving him a ring, as a token of her affection. After the queen was gone, the king, with the few servants that were about him, recollecting the proceedings of the past day, amongst some comfortable speeches given him by the queen, he was troubled at the remembrance of a few words; for she, whether not being able to contain her joy, arising from the hope that the murder would be now presently acted, or whether it fell from her by chance, slipped out a word, *That David Rizio was killed the last year, just*

about that time. Though none of them liked this unseasonable mention of his death, yet because the night was pretty far spent, and the next morning was designed for sports and pastimes, they went speedily to bed. In the mean time, gunpowder was placed in the room below, to blow up the house: other things were cautiously and craftily enough transacted; but one thing there was, which though small in itself, gave sufficient proof of the wicked conspiracy. For the bed, in which the queen used sometimes to lie, was taken from thence, and a worse put in its place, as if though they were prodigal enough of their characters, they would however be saving of their money. In the mean time, one Paris a Frenchman, a partizan in the conspiracy, entered into the king's bed-chamber, and there stood silent, yet so that the queen might see him, and that was the sign agreed on betwixt them, that all things were in readiness. As soon as she saw Paris, as if Sebastian's marriage came into her mind, she began to blame herself that she had been so negligent, as not to dance that night at the wedding, (as it was agreed) and to put the bride to bed, as the manner is; upon which, she presently started up, and went home. Being returned to the palace, she had a pretty deal of discourse with Bothwell; who being at length dismissed, went to his chamber, changed his clothes, put on a soldier's coat, and with a few in company, passed through the guards into the town. Two other parties of the conspirators came several different ways to the appointed place, and a few of them entered into the king's bed-chamber, of which they had the keys (as I said before); and whilst he was fast asleep, they took him by the throat, and strangled him, and so they did one of his servants who lay near him. When they were murdered, they carried their bodies through a little gate, which they had made on purpose, in the walls of the city, into a garden near at hand; then they set fire to the gunpowder, which blew up the house from the very foundation, and made such a noise, that it shook some of the neighbouring houses; nay, those that were sound asleep, in the farthest parts of the city, were awakened, and frightened at the loudness of the report. When the deed was done, Bothwell was led out by the ruins of the city-walls, and so returned to the palace through the guard, quite a different way from that which he came. This was the common rumour about the king's death, which held some days. The queen had sat up that night to wait for the event, and hearing of the tumult, called together those of the nobility, who were at court, and amongst the rest, Bothwell; and, by their advice, sent out to know what was the matter, as if she had been ignorant of all that was done; some going to inspect the body, found that the king had only a linen shirt on the upper part of his body, the rest of it lay naked; his other clothes, and his slippers, lay just by

him. The common people came in great crowds to see him, and many conjectures there were, yet they all agreed (which was very afflicting to Bothwell) that he could never be thrown out of the house, by the force of the gun-powder, for there was no part broken, bruised, or black and blue, about his body, which must necessarily have happened in a ruin by gun-powder; besides, his clothes that lay near him, were not so much as singed with the flame, or covered with any ashes; so that they could not have been thrown thither by any casualty, but must have been placed there by some body's hand on purpose. Bothwell returned home, and as if he had been struck with admiration, brought the news to the queen, upon which she went to bed, and lay secure, soundly asleep, a great part of the next day.

In the mean time, reports were spread abroad by the parricides, and carried into the borders of England before day, that the king was murdered by the design of Murray and Morton; yet every body thought privately within himself, that the queen must needs be the author of the bloody deed. Neither was the bishop of St. Andrews free from suspicion, there were shrewd conjectures against him, as the high and cruel enmities betwixt the families; neither was the bishop ever well reconciled to the queen, before she designed that wickedness in her mind; and of late, when he accompanied her to Glasgow, he was made privy to all her counsels. It increased men's suspicions of him, that he was just then retired to the house of his brother, the earl of Arran, which was near the house where the king was slain; whereas before, he always used to live in some eminent part of the city, where he might conveniently receive visits, and ingratiate himself with the people by feasting them; and besides, those who dwelt in the higher part of the city, saw watch-lights in the house all the night, and when the explosion was heard, then the lights were put out, and his vassals, many of whom watched in their arms, were forbidden to go out of doors. But the true story of the matter of fact, which came to light after some months, gave occasion to people to look upon those things as certain indications, which before were but suspicions only.

When the murder was committed, messengers were presently sent into England, who were to report, that the king of Scots was cruelly murdered by his subjects, by the contrivance especially of Murray and Morton. The news was immediately brought to court, which so inflamed all the English, and made them have such a perfect abhorrence of the whole nation, that for some days no Scotsman durst, or could walk abroad, without running the hazard of his life; and though many letters passed to and fro, discovering the secret contrivances of the plot, yet they could hardly be appeased. The king's body having been left a while as a spec-

tacle to be gazed upon, and a great concourse of people continually flocking thither to see it, the queen ordered, that it should be laid on a bier, and brought by porters into the palace. There she herself viewed the body, the fairest of that age, and yet her countenance discovered not the secrets of her mind, neither one way or other. The nobles that were there present, decreed, that a stately and honourable funeral should be made for him. But the queen ordered it so, that he was carried by private bearers in the night-time, and was buried in no manner of state; and that which increased the indignity the more, was, that his grave was made near David Rizio; as if she designed to sacrifice the life of her husband to the manes of that vile wretch.

Two prodigies happened at that time, which are worth while to relate. One of them a little preceded the murder, and it was thus. One John Londin, a gentleman of Fife, having been long sick of a fever, the day before the king was killed, about noon, raised himself a little in his bed, and, as if he had been astonished, cried out to those that stood by him, with a loud voice, *Go help the king; for the parricides were just then murdering him;* and a while after he called out with a mournful tone, *Now it is too late to help him, he is already murdered:* and he himself lived not long after he had uttered those words. The other was just at the time as the murder happened. Three of the familiar friends of the earl of Athol's, the king's cousin, men of reputation for valour and estate, had their lodgings not far from the king's; when they were asleep about midnight, there was a certain man seemed to come to Dougal Stewart, who lay next the wall, and to draw his hand gently over his beard and cheek, so to awake him, saying, *Arise, they are offering violence to you.* He presently awaked, and considering the apparition within himself, another of them cries out presently in the same bed, *Who kicks me?* Dougal answered, *Perhaps it is a cat, which used to walk about in the night;* upon which, the third, who was not yet awake, rose presently out of his bed, and stood upon the floor, demanding, *Who it was that had given him a box on the ear?* As soon as he had spoken, a person seemed to go out of the house by the door, and that not without some noise. Whilst they were descanting on what they had heard and seen, the noise of the blowing up of the king's house, put them into a very terrible consternation. When the murder was committed, people were variously affected with it, according as they loved or hated the king. All good men unanimously detested it. He that took it most to heart, was John Stewart, earl of Athol, for many reasons, but particularly because he was the chief maker of the match between the queen and him. The night after the murder, armed guards watched the palace, as is usual on such sudden consternations, and they hear-

ing the outside wall of the earl of Athol's lodging make a noise or crack, as if some were softly digging at the foundation, they raised the family, which went no more to bed that night. The day after, the earl took lodgings in the town, and, a little after that, went home, for fear of his life. The earl of Murray, at his return to court from St. Andrews, was not without danger neither, for armed men walked about his house at night; but he not being well, and his servants being accustomed to watch him all night, the villains could not attempt any thing against him privately, and openly they durst not. At length Bothwell (who would willingly have been without the trouble of it) resolved to perform the wicked deed with his own hands. And therefore about midnight, he asked his domestics, how Murray did? They told him, he was sadly afflicted with the gout. What, said he, if we should go and see him; and presently he rose up, and was making the best of his way to his house. As he was going, he was informed by Murray's domestics, that Murray was gone to his brother Robert's, to be at more freedom and ease, and out of the noise of the court; upon which he said no more, but grieved inwardly that he had lost so fair an opportunity, and so returned home. Mean while the queen put on very demure looks, and feigning great sorrow, thought that way to reconcile the people to her; but that succeeded as ill with her, as the rest of the conspiracy. For whereas it was the custom, time out of mind, for queens, after their husband's death, to abstain several days, not only from the sight of men, but even from seeing the light, she indeed acted a kind of fictitious sorrow, but her real joy so exceeded it, that though the doors were shut, yet the windows were open, and throwing off her widow's weed, in four days she could well enough bear the sight of the sun and air; and before twelve days were over, being hardened against all the people could say, she went to Seton, about seven miles from the town, and never let Bothwell be one moment from her side; there her carriage was such, that though she changed her habit a little, yet she did not seem at all to mourn within. The place was full of the nobility, and she went constantly every day abroad to the usual sports, though some of them were not so proper for the female sex. But the coming of Mr. de Crocke, a Frenchman (who had often before been ambassador in Scotland) did in some little degree disturb their measures; for he telling them how infamous the matter sounded amongst foreigners, they returned to Edinburgh. But Seton had so many conveniencies, that though the further hazard of her credit lay at stake upon it, yet she must needs return thither again. There the main head of the consultation was, how Bothwell might be acquitted of the king's murder. There was a design before, to try and acquit him; for presently

upon the king's death, Bothwell, and some of his accomplices, came to the marquis of Argyle, who was the hereditary capital judge in criminal causes. First, they pretended they were wholly ignorant of what was done, and wondered at it, as a new, unheard of, and incredible thing; then they proceeded to examination; they summoned some poor women out of the neighbourhood; but they were dashed betwixt hope and fear, uncertain whether they should speak out, or be utterly silent; but, though they were very cautious in their words, yet uttering more than was expected, they were discharged, as having spoken nothing upon any certain grounds; and as for their testimony, it was an easy matter enough to despise it. Upon that, some of the king's servants were sent for, who had escaped the fire. They, when they were asked, how the assassins could make their entrance? replied, that the keys were not in their power. And when it was closely put to them again, in whose hands they were? they answered, in the queen's. Upon that, the farther examination was deferred, as the examiners pretended; but indeed, was quite suppressed; for they were afraid, if they went any farther, the court-secrets would have been all publicly known.

And yet, to put a gloss on the matter, a proclamation was published, and a reward offered to those who should discover the authors of the king's murder. But who dared be so bold as to impeach Bothwell since he was to be the accused, the judge, the examiner, and the exactor of the punishment? Yet this fear, which stopped the mouths of several single persons, could not bridle the multitude. For libels were published, pictures made, and hawkers went by night about the streets crying papers, by which the parricides might easily understand, that the whole matter was discovered, both who designed the wickedness, and who assisted in the execution of it. And the more prohibitions were laid on the commonalty, the more did their grief make them speak. Though the conspirators seemed to despise these things, yet they were so inwardly, and so sensibly touched at them, that they could not dissemble their sorrow. And therefore omitting the examination about the king's death, they fell upon another method that was still more severe; and that was, against the authors of libels, or (as they worded it) the calumniators of Bothwell; and this was so severely prosecuted, that no pains nor costs were spared. All the painters and writing-masters were called together, to see if by the pictures and libels they could discover the authors; they farther added a clause, suitable enough to the edict, which made it capital, not only to sell the libels, but even to read them, when they were sold. But they who endeavoured to bridle the discourse of the people, by threatening capital punishment to them, were not satisfied with the king's death, but retained their

hatred against him, though in his grave. The queen gave her husband's goods, his arms, horses, clothes, and other household stuff, either to his father's enemies, or to the murderers themselves, as if they had been forfeited to her exchequer. As these matters were acted in the broad face of day, so many did as publicly inveigh against them. One of the taylor's who was making some of the king's clothes fit for Bothwell to wear, was so bold as to say, Now he saw the old country-custom verified: *That the executioner had the clothes of those persons that suffered by his hand.*

They were under another mighty difficulty, how they should get the castle of Edinburgh into the queen's hands; John earl of Marr was governor of it, upon condition that he should deliver it up to nobody but by the special order of the estates; and though such a convention was to be the month after, yet the queen was so earnest, that every little delay seemed to her very tedious. And therefore she dealt underhand with the earl's friends and relations (for himself lay then very sick at Stirling) to surrender the castle to her; pretending this as the chief cause, why the commons of Edinburgh were so tumultuous, (there being then a commotion amongst them), that she could not keep them within the bounds of their duty, unless she had that fort in her hands; and that thereupon, as an earnest of her great affection to John, she would put her only son, the heir of the kingdom, into his hands, to be educated by him; which office of guardianship his ancestors had discharged to their great commendation in the care of so many other princes, of late times, but particularly in the education of her mother and grandfather. Though the earl understood and saw clearly through the tendency of these her promises and flatteries, yet he complied with her request. The queen finding him more easy than she hoped, makes it her next endeavour to be possessed of the castle, with the first convenient opportunity, and yet to keep her son too. When he would not hearken to that, she sets upon him by another wile, and makes proposals that he would come to Linlithgow, (in the mid-way between Edinburgh and Stirling) there, on an appointed day, to receive the prince, and to surrender the castle. But this project being suspected of fraud, it was at last agreed, that it should be delivered to Erskine at Stirling, and that he, in the interim, should have the chief of his family in hostage, for the surrender of the castle.

These things gave some trouble to the parricides, but they were most of all perplexed with the daily complaints of the earl of Lennox: He would not venture to come to court, by reason of Bothwell's exorbitant power; but he earnestly solicited the queen by letters, that she would confine Bothwell, who without doubt was the author of the king's murder, till a day should be appointed for bringing him to his trial. She, though eluding his demand

by many stratagems, yet finding that the examination of so enormous a crime could not be avoided, designed to have it carried on in this manner.

The assembly of the estates to be held on the 13th of April grew very near at hand; she was desirous before that time came to have the matter tried, that so Bothwell being absolved by the votes of the judges, might be further cleared by the suffrages of the whole parliament. This haste was the cause that nothing was carried on regularly, or according to custom, in that judiciary process. For the accusers (as is usual) ought to have been cited, with their relations, as wife, father, mother, son, either to appear personally, or by proxy, within forty days, for that is the time limited by the law. Here the father was only summoned to appear on the 13th of April, without summoning any of his friends, excepting his own family, which at that time was in a low condition, and reduced to a small number. Whereas, in the mean time, Bothwell flew up and down the town, with whole troops at his heels; the earl of Lennox thought it best for him not to come into a city full of his enemies, where he had no friends nor vassals to secure him: and besides, if there was no danger of his life, yet there could be no freedom of debate. Bothwell appears at the day appointed, and comes into the town-hall, being both plaintiff and defendant. The judges of the nobility were cited, most of them his friends, none daring on the other side to except against any one of them; only Robert Cunningham, one of Lennox's family, put a small stop to the proceedings; he, craved liberty to speak, declared, that the process was not according to law nor custom, where the accused person was so powerful, that he could not be brought to punishment, and the accuser was absent for fear of his life; and therefore, whatsoever should be determined there, as being against law and equity, was null and void. Notwithstanding all that, they proceeded. Besides, Gilbert earl of Cassils, being chosen one of the judges, rather for form's sake, than that he thought he should do any good, desired to be excused, and offered likewise to pay the forfeiture, usually laid upon those who decline sitting; but in that very instant of time a messenger brought him a ring from the queen, with a command that he should sit as one of the judges, or else she threatened to commit him to prison. When that did not prevail she sent a second messenger, who told him he should be punished as a traitor if he refused. Being terrified into it by such means as these, they were forced to sit, and truly the issue of the sessions was this; they declared they saw no reason to find Bothwell guilty; yet if any man, at any time after, could lawfully accuse him, they gave a caution that this judgment should be no hindrance to him. Some thought they proceeded with great

wisdom in bringing it to such an issue. For the indictment was grounded on such words, that the severest judges could never have found Bothwell guilty, for it was laid against a murder committed on the 9th of February, whereas the king was murdered on the 10th.

Thus Bothwell was acquitted of the fact, but not of the infamy of it. Suspicions increased upon him, and his punishment seemed only to be deferred; but any pretence whatsoever, though a shameless one, seemed good enough to the queen, who was in great haste to marry him. But, to absolve himself of the imputation with a better air, there was a challenge posted on the most eminent part of the court, declaring that though Bothwell was lawfully acquitted of the king's murder, yet to make his innocence appear the brighter he was ready to decide the matter in a duel, against any gentleman, or person of honour, that should dare to lay it to his charge. On the morning following, there was one who did as manfully post up an answer to his challenge, provided the place of combat was appointed, where he might declare his name without danger. Though these things succeeded reasonably well, yet the queen in that parliament was more rugged than formerly; for whereas before, she pretended civility in her carriage, she now plainly discovered an inclination to tyranny; for she now flatly denied what she had promised at Stirling in matters of religion; and that was, that the laws established under popish tyranny should be abrogated in the first parliament, and the reformed religion should be strengthened by new laws. And when, besides her promise, two edicts, signed with her own hand, were produced; being caught here, she eluded them, and commanded the commissioners of the kirk to attend her another time; but after that, she never gave them any opportunity to appear before her again; and she alleged, that these acts of the estates, which were published before her coming into Scotland, by the consent of Francis her husband, fell under the act of oblivion: That speech of hers seemed to all, no less than a manifest profession of tyranny. For whereas the Scots had no laws besides acts of parliament, they entertained such private thoughts in their breasts, *What kind of life they were like to live under a prince, whose will was a law, and whose word and promise were never to be believed.* This was done about the end of the convention. At the same time, the queen was very earnest to hasten their marriage, and yet she desired to procure the public consent by any means, that she might seem to act nothing but by the suffrage of the nobility; and Bothwell too, to credit the marriage with the pretence of public authority, devised this stratagem: He invited all the noblemen of the highest rank, who were then in town (as there were many) to supper; and when they were in

the height of their mirth, he desired them to shew that good affection to him for the future, which they had always formerly done. At present he only desired, that as he was a suitor to the queen, they would subscribe to a schedule, which he had made about that matter, and that would be a means to procure him favour with the queen, and honour with the people. They all stood amazed at so sudden and unexpected a proposal, and could not dissemble their sorrow, and yet they durst not refuse or deny him: Upon that, a few who knew the queen's mind began first, and the rest not foreseeing that there was so great a number of flatterers present, suspected one another, and so at last, every one of them subscribed. The day after, when they came to recollect what they had done, some of them as ingenuously professed they would never have given their consent, unless they had thought the thing had been acceptable to the queen; for that, as it carried no great shew of honesty, and was very prejudicial to the public too; so there was danger if any discord should arise (as it happened between her and her former husband) between her and Bothwell in the same manner, and he should be rejected, it might be laid to their doors, that they had betrayed the queen into a dishonourable marriage; and therefore, before they went too far, they resolved to try her mind, and to procure a writing under her hand, to the following purpose, viz. That she approved of what they had done in reference to her marriage. This writing was obtained with great ease, and by the consent of all, was given to earl of Argyle to keep. The next day all the bishops in town were called to court, that they might subscribe in like manner. This trouble being over, there succeeded another, which was, how the queen should get her son in her power; for Bothwell did not think it safe for him to have a young child brought up, which in time might revenge his father's murder; neither was he willing, that any other should come between his children and the crown. Whereupon the queen, who could deny him nothing, undertook the task herself, to bring the child to Edinburgh; she had also another pretence to visit Stirling, of which I shall speak by and by. When she came thither, the earl of Marr suspected what was a brewing, and therefore shewed her the prince, but would not let him be in her power: The queen seeing her fraud detected, and not able to cope with him by force, pretended another cause for her journey, and prepared to return: As she was upon her journey, either the too great fatigue of that, or else the fury she was in, that her designs, which the authors thought so craftily laid, proved unsuccessful, made her fall suddenly ill, and she was forced to retire into a poor house about four miles from Stirling, where her pain abating a little, she proceeded on her journey, and came that night to Lin-

lithgow; from thence she wrote to Bothwell by Paris, what she would have him to do about her surprise; for before she departed from Edinburgh, she had agreed with him, that at the bridge of Almon, he should surprise her in her return, and carry her where he would, as it were against her will. The common people put this interpretation on the matter, that she could not altogether conceal her familiarity with Bothwell, and yet she could not well be without it; neither could she openly enjoy it as she desired, without the loss of her reputation. It was too tedious to expect his divorce from his former wife; and she was willing to consult her honour, which she pretended to have a mighty regard to, and yet she would provide for her pleasures too. This made her very impatient, and therefore the device was thought to be very pretty, that Bothwell should guard against the queen's infamy, with his own great crime; and yet stand in no fear of any punishment for it.

But there was a deeper reach in the project, which afterwards came to light; for whereas the people did every where point at, and curse the king's murderers; they, to provide for their own security, by the persuasion, as it is thought, of John Lesly, bishop of Ross, devised this attempt upon the queen. It is the custom in Scotland, when the king grants a pardon for offences, that he who sues it out, expresseth his great offence by name, and the rest of his crimes are added in general words; accordingly the king's murderers determined to ask pardon for this surprise of the queen by name, and then to put down in their pardons, by way of addition, *All other wicked facts*: in which clause they persuaded themselves, that the king's murder would be included, because it was not safe for them to name themselves the authors of it in the pardon; nor was it creditable for the queen to grant it under that name; neither could it well be added in the grant of pardon, as an appendix to a crime that was less in its own nature. Another offence less invidious, but liable to the same punishment, was to be devised, under the shadow of which, the king's murder might be disguised and pardoned, and no other did occur to them, but this pretended force put upon the queen, by which her pleasure might be satisfied, and Bothwell's security be provided for at the same time. And therefore he, accompanied with 600 horse, waited her coming at Almon bridge, as they had agreed, and took her, not against her will, to Dunbar. There they had free converse, one with another, and a divorce was commenced betwixt Bothwell and his former wife, and that in two courts. First, she was cited before judges publicly appointed to decide such kind of controversies; and next before the officials of bishops courts, though they were forbid by a public statute to exercise any part of magistracy, or to meddle with any

public business. Madam Gordon, Bothwell's wife, was compelled to commence a suit of divorce in a double court. Before the queen's judges she accuses him of adultery, which was the only just cause of a divorce amongst them; and before the papal judges, who though forbidden by the law, yet were impowered by the archbishop of St. Andrews to determine the controversy she alleged against him, that before their marriage, he had too much unlawful or incestuous familiarity with her kinswoman. The witnesses and judges made no delay in the case. The suit was commenced, prosecuted, adjudged, and ended in ten days.

On these emergencies, a great many of the honest nobles met at Stirling, and sent to the queen, desiring to know of her, whether she was kept where she was, with or against her will? If the latter, they would levy an army for her deliverance. She received the message, not without smiling, and answered them, that it was true, she was brought thither against her will, but was so kindly treated since, that she had little cause to complain of the former injury. Thus was the messenger eluded; but though they made haste to take off the reflection of the force by a lawful marriage, there were still two obstacles in the way; one was, that if she married whilst a prisoner, the marriage might not be accounted good, and so easily dissolved. The other, how to have the usual ceremonies observed, that the banns should be published on three Lord's days, in the public congregations, "Of a marriage intended between James Hepburn and Mary Stewart; so that if any one knew a lawful impediment, why they might not be joined together in matrimony, they should declare it, that so it might be judged of by the church." To end these matters, Bothwell gathers his friends and dependents together, resolving to bring back the queen to Edinburgh, that so under a vain shew of her liberty, he might determine of their marriage at his pleasure. His attendants were all armed, and as they were on their journey, a fear seized on many of them, lest one time or other it might turn to their prejudice, to hold the queen still a prisoner; and if there were no other ground for it, yet this was enough, that they accompanied her in an armed posture, when things were otherwise in peace and quietness. Upon this scruple, they threw away all their spears, and so, in a seeming more peaceable posture, they brought her to the castle of Edinburgh, which was then in Bothwell's power.

The next day they accompanied her into the city, and into the courts of justice, where she affirmed before the judges, that she was wholly free, and under no restraint at all. But, as to publishing the marriage in the church, the reader whose office it was, did absolutely refuse it. Upon this, the elder deacons and ecclesiastics assembled, as no. daring to resist, and commanded the

reader to publish the banns according to custom; he so far was obedient as to tell them, that he himself knew a lawful impediment, and was ready to declare it to the queen or to Bothwell, when they pleased to command him. Accordingly he was sent for to the castle, and the queen remitted him to Bothwell, who neither by fear nor by favour could make him alter his purpose, nor yet durst he commit the matter to a debate; yet he went on to hasten the marriage. There was none found besides the bishop of Orkney, to celebrate the nuptials; he alone preferred court-favour before truth, the rest being utterly against it, and producing reasons why it could be no lawful marriage with one who had two wives yet living, and upon confessing his own adultery, had been divorced from a third; yet though all good men lothed it, the commonalty cursed it, relations by letters dissuaded it, whilst he was prosecuting it, and abhorred it when it was done; there were some public ceremonies performed after a mock kind of manner, and married they were. Those of the nobility there present (being very few, and those Bothwell's friends and creatures too, the rest being gone to their homes) were invited to supper; and so was Crocke the French ambassador; but he, though he was of the Guises' faction, and besides resided near the place, yet peremptorily refused to come. He thought it suited not with the dignity of that person whom he represented, to countenance that marriage by his presence, which he heard the common people had detested and cursed; and besides, the queen's relations did by no means approve it, neither whilst it was a doing, nor yet when it was done. And the king of France and queen of England, did, by their ambassadors, declare against the turpitude of the action. Though that was troublesome to her, yet the silent sadness of the people did so much the more aggravate the fierce disposition of the queen, as things that we see with our own eyes pierce us deeper, than things that we only hear. As they both went through the city, none saluted them with their wonted acclamations, only one said, and that but once, *God save the queen*; upon which another woman near her spake aloud, once or twice, so that the standers-by might hear her, *Let every body have their deserts*. That incident provoked her still much the more against the citizens of Edinburgh, with whom she was angry before. When she saw how disaffected people were to her, both at home and abroad, she took advice with her cabal, how she might establish her power, and quell any insurrection for the future. First of all, she determined to send an ambassador into France, to reconcile those princes, and the Guises to her, who, she knew, were offended with her precipitate marriage. William bishop of Dunblane was chosen for that service; his instructions were given him almost in these very words:

“ First, you shall excuse me to those princes, and to my uncle, that they heard of the consummation of my marriage by vulgar report, before ever I had acquainted them with my intentions by my own proper messengers. This excuse you shall ground on the true narration of the whole life, and especially of the good offices of the duke of the Orcades, which he hath done me even to that very day, wherein I thought good to make him my husband. You shall begin the declaration of that story, as the truth is, taking your rise from his very youth. As soon as ever he came to be of age, after the death of his father, one of the prime noblemen of the kingdom, he wholly addicted himself to the service of the princes of this land, being otherwise of a very noble family, both by reason of its antiquity, and also the high offices it held in the kingdom, as by hereditary right. At that time he principally addicted himself to the service of my mother, who then held the sceptre, and was so constant an adherent to her, that though, in a very short time, a great many of the nobility, and many towns also had revolted from her, on the account of religion, yet he never faltered in his loyalty; neither could he be induced by any proffers, promises, or threats, nor by any loss of his particular estate, to make a defection in the least from her authority; nay, rather than neglect her service, he suffered his house, the mansion-house of the family, and all his goods, which were many and precious, to be plundered, and his estate made a prey to his enemies. At last, being destitute of our aid, and all other besides, an English army was brought by domestic enemies into the very bowels of the kingdom, on purpose to inforce my husband (then earl of Bothwell) to leave his estate and country, and to retire to France; where he observed me with all respect, till my return to Scotland. Neither must his military exploits against the English be forgotten, a little before my return, wherein he gave such proof of his manly valour, and great prudence too, that he was thought worthy, though a young man, to command his superiors in age; so that he was chosen chief general of the army of his countrymen, and my lieutenant, which office he discharged so well, that by many valiant performances, he left a noble memorial of his fortitude both amongst his enemies, and also his own countrymen. After my return, he employed all his endeavours for the enlargement of my authority; he spared no danger in subduing the rebels upon the borders of England; where, having reduced things to great tranquillity, he resolved to do the same in other parts of the kingdom. But as envy is always the companion of virtue, the Scots still desiring innovations, and some of them willing to lessen my favour towards him, did so

“ ill interpret his good services, that they caused me to remit him
“ to prison; which I did, partly to gratify some, who envied the
“ growth of his increasing greatness, and partly to allay the se-
“ ditious commotions, which were then ready to break out, to
“ the destruction of the whole kingdom. He made his escape
“ out of prison, and to give way to the power of those who were
“ emulous of his great virtues, he returned into France, and re-
“ sided there almost two years; during which time the authors
“ of the former seditions, forgetting my lenity towards them, and
“ their duty towards me, took up arms, and led an army against
“ me. Then it was I commanded him to return, I restored him
“ to his former estate and dignity, and made him captain-general
“ over all my forces. And then too it was, that his conduct re-
“ stored me again so far to my authority, that all the rebels
“ were quickly forced to turn fugitives, and seek shelter in Eng-
“ land, till a great part of them, upon their most humble sub-
“ mission, were received by me into favour. How perfidiously
“ I was treated by those exiles that returned, and by those whom
“ I had obliged with greater courtesies than they deserved, my
“ uncle is not ignorant, and therefore I need say little of it; yet
“ must I not pass over in silence, with how great diligence he
“ freed me from the hands of those who held me captive; and
“ how speedily, by his singular conduct, I escaped out of prison;
“ and the whole faction of conspirators being dissipated and
“ crushed, I recovered my former authority. I must acknow-
“ ledge his services to have been so grateful to me on this head,
“ that I could never suffer them to slip out of my memory.
“ These things are really and truly great in themselves; yet he
“ hath made such an addition to them, by his unwearied diligence
“ and anxious care in my behalf, that I could never expect
“ greater marks of duty and loyalty in any man than I have
“ found in him, even till after the decease of the king my late
“ husband. Since that time, as his thoughts seemed to grow
“ more aspiring, and to have a higher aim, so his actions were
“ somewhat now uncommon, bold and daring; and though the
“ matter was come to that pass, that I was in a manner obliged
“ to take all things in the best part, yet was I much offended with
“ his arrogance, when he came to think it was beyond my ability
“ to requite him any otherwise, than by giving up myself to him
“ as a reward for his services; besides, I disliked his secret de-
“ signs against, and at length, his open contempt of me, and
“ the force which he used to get me into his power, for fear his
“ intents should be frustrated. In the mean time, the whole
“ course of his life was so ordered, that it may stand as an ex-
“ ample, how very craftily men that undertake great designs, can
“ conceal their purposes till they obtain their ends. For I thought

“ that his diligence and promptitude in paying obedience to all
“ my commands, proceeded from no other motive, than a loyal
“ desire to please me; it never so much as entered into my ima-
“ gination, that he had any higher wish or design; neither did
“ I think, that a more gracious countenance, which I sometimes
“ shew towards my nobles, to engage them to a greater readiness
“ in obeying my commands, would have exalted his mind so far
“ as to flatter himself with the hopes of a more extraordinary
“ courtesy from him; yet he, turning things that were even
“ merely accidental, to his own advantage, carried on these de-
“ signs unknown to me; and, by his wonted observance, main-
“ tained the former good opinion which I had of him. He,
“ moreover, courted the friendship of the nobility, as if he was
“ privily ambitious of a new favour; and he was so sedulous in
“ this point, that though I knew nothing of it, yet, when the
“ convention of the estates was held, he obtained a chart from
“ all the nobility, subscribed with their hands, to make it more
“ authentic, wherein they declared their assent to a marriage be-
“ twixt me and him, and promised to venture their lives and for-
“ tunes to bring it to pass, and to be enemies to all thoss that
“ should oppose it. And the more easily to obtain the assent of
“ the nobles, he led each of them into a full persuasion, that all
“ these things were managed by my consent. When he had once
“ obtained this writing, he next endeavoured by degrees to win
“ my consent, and sought it in the most humble manner; but
“ my answer not suiting with his desire, he began to propound
“ such things to himself, which are wont to occur in such great
“ undertakings, as, the outward demonstration of my good will,
“ the ways by which my friends, or his enemies, might hinder
“ his design; and lest any of those who had subscribed, should
“ withdraw their assent, and many other things might intervene
“ to obstruct his purposes. At length, he determined with him-
“ self, to pursue the favour of his present fortune, and to stake
“ the whole business, his life and all his hopes upon the hazard
“ of one single moment; so that being resolved to execute his
“ design to the purpose, after he had waited four days, as I was
“ returning home from visiting my dear son, he watched a con-
“ venient place and time; and, on the way, seized me with a
“ strong party of men, and carried me speedily to Dunbar.
“ Every one may very easily form a judgment how I took
“ this, especially from him, from whom I less expected such a
“ treatment, than from any subject whatsoever. There I up-
“ braided him with my favours towards him, and how honoura-
“ bly I had always spoken before of his manners and behaviour,
“ and how ungratefully he had carried it towards me; I spoke a
“ great many other things, to free myself out of his hands. His

“ usage indeed was somewhat coarse, but his words were fair
“ and smooth, as that he would use me with all honour and ob-
“ servance, and would do his utmost not to offend me in any
“ thing; but as to his carrying me against my will, into one of
“ my own castles, he craved my pardon for so bold an attempt,
“ alleging he was forced by the power of love, so to do, and
“ that his passion made him forget the reverence and allegiance
“ which he owed me as a subject. He said farther, that he was
“ compelled to go thither for fear of his life. Then he began to
“ rehearse to me the whole course of his life, and lamented to
“ me his misfortune, that those whom he had never offended,
“ were his bitter enemies, and whose malice had devised all
“ unjust ways to do him a mischief; what envious reflections
“ were made upon him for the king’s death, and how unable he
“ was to bear up against the hidden conspiracy of those of his e-
“ nemies, whom he knew not, because they pretended good-
“ will towards him both in speech and behaviour; neither was
“ he able to prevent those treacheries, which came not within
“ the compass of his own knowledge. Their malice against him
“ was so great, that, at no time or place, he could live a quiet
“ life, unless he was assured of my unchangeable favour towards
“ him. And to assure that, he knew but one way, and that
“ was, that I would vouchsafe to make him my husband. He
“ solemnly swore withal, that he did not seek it as the means of
“ pre-eminence, or to be at the top and height of dignity, but
“ this one thing was all he wanted, that he might be able to
“ serve and obey me, as he had hitherto done, all the days of
“ his life. He dressed up this discourse of his, in all the pomp
“ of eloquence that his cause could require. But when he found
“ I was not to be wrought upon, either by prayers or promises,
“ he, at last, shewed me what he had transacted with the nobility
“ and all the estates, and what they had promised under their
“ hands. This being produced before me on a sudden, and be-
“ yond my expectation, I leave it to the king, queen, my uncle,
“ and the rest of my friends, whether it might not administer a
“ just cause of amazement to me. Upon this, indeed, when I
“ saw myself in another man’s power, separate from those that
“ were wont to give me counsel; nay, when I saw those persons,
“ on whose fidelity and prudence I placed myself, and all my
“ hopes, those persons whose power must confirm my authority,
“ that otherwise could be little or none at all; I say, when I saw
“ such men had devoted themselves to gratify his will and de-
“ sire, and myself left alone as his prey, I pondered many things
“ in my mind, but could not find out a way how to extricate
“ myself; neither did he give me any long time to consider of
“ the matter, but pressed his purpose with great eagerness. At

“ last when I saw I had no hope to escape, and that there was
“ not a man in the kingdom that would stir for my deliverance ;
“ for I easily perceived by the roll he shewed me, and by the
“ great silence of the times, that all were drawn to his party.
“ As soon as my anger was a little abated, I applied my mind to
“ consider his request. Then I began to set before my eyes his
“ services in former times, and the great hopes I had, he
“ would constantly persist in the same for the future; and again,
“ how hardly my subjects would endure a foreign prince, who
“ was unacquainted with their laws, and that they would not
“ suffer me to be a widow long; that a people, prone to tumults,
“ could not be kept within the bounds of their duty, unless my
“ authority was upheld and exercised by a man, who was able to
“ undergo the toil of governing the commonwealth, and so to
“ bridle the insolence of the rebellious; that my strength was
“ weakened with the weight of those things, ever since I came
“ into Scotland, and almost reduced to nothing; insomuch that
“ I could no longer bear the daily tumults and rebellions that a-
“ rose. Furthermore, by reason of these seditions, I was forced
“ to create four or more lieutenants, in divers parts of the king-
“ dom; most of which, under colour of the authority granted
“ by me, caused my subjects take up arms against me. For
“ these reasons, when I saw, that if I would support my impe-
“ rial estate, I must incline my heart to marriage; and that my
“ subjects would not bear a foreign king; and that there was
“ not one of my subjects, who, for the splendour of his family,
“ for prudence and valour, and other endowments of body and
“ mind, could exceed, or so much as bear a comparison with
“ him, whom I have now married; I prevailed with myself to
“ comply with the universal decree of my estates, of which I
“ made mention before. After my constancy was overborne by
“ these reasons, he, partly by force, partly by flattery, obtained
“ a promise from me to marry him; which having done, I could
“ not obtain from him (who feared lest my mind should change)
“ to put off the celebration of the nuptials, that I might have time
“ to communicate the matter to the king and queen of France,
“ and to my other friends beyond sea; but, as he began with the
“ utmost intrepidity and boldness, so that he might arrive at the
“ top of his desires, he never gave over soliciting me by argu-
“ ments and earnest intreaties, till he at last compelled me, not
“ without force, to put an end to the matter begun, and that at
“ such a time and way as he thought most convenient to his pur-
“ pose. And upon this head, I cannot dissemble, but must
“ needs say, that I was treated by him otherwise than I would,
“ or than I had deserved of him; for he was more solicitous to
“ satisfy them, by whose consent, though extorted from them

“ at the beginning, he judges himself to have accomplished his
“ desires (he having deceived them as well as myself) than to
“ gratify me, by considering what was fit and creditable for me
“ to do, who had been always brought up in the rites and insti-
“ tutions of our religion, from which, neither he, nor any man
“ living, shall ever turn or alter me. Though I acknowledge
“ my error, yet I must confess, I much desire that the king, the
“ queen his mother, my uncle, or other friends of mine, would
“ not, in this point, expostulate with him, or rub up old sores.
“ For now matters being so completed, that they cannot be un-
“ done I take all things in the best part; and, as he is indeed
“ my husband, I resolve now to look upon him as one that
“ hereafter I will love and reverence; and they who profess
“ themselves my friends, must needs carry the same respects
“ to him, since now we are joined in the indissoluble bond of
“ matrimony. Though in some things he carried himself some-
“ thing negligently, and almost rashly, yet I impute it to his
“ immoderate love towards me, and do therefore intreat the
“ king, queen, my uncle, and other friends, to respect him as
“ much, as if all had been managed by their advice, even to this
“ very day; and, on the other side, we promise, in his behalf,
“ that he will gratify them in all things, which they shall desire.”

This was the remedy provided against the bad reports of the world abroad; but they took precautions against domestic tumults, after they had fixed those by gifts for the present, and promises for the time to come, who were either perpetrators or partizans in the king's murder, to make a combination of the greater part of the nobility, because, if that was done, they might undervalue the rest; or, if they remained obstinate, cut them off. Upon this, they assembled many of the nobility, and propounded to them the heads of the capitulations which they were to swear: The sum was, That they should maintain the queen and Bothwell, and support all their proceedings, who, on their part were to favour and countenance the concerns and interest of those of the confederates there present. A great many were persuaded before, and so subscribed; the rest though they thought a very ill thing to join in the conspiracy, yet they saw it was as dangerous to refuse, and so they subscribed too. Murray was sent for, that his authority (which his virtue had rendered very great and extensive) might give some countenance to the thing. As he was on his journey, he was advised by his friends, to consult his own safety, and not to lie in Seton house, where the queen and the chief conspirators were, but rather to lodge in some friend's house hard by. He answered, That was not in his power, but come what would, he would never assent to any wicked action; and he left all the rest to God. As to those courtiers who were

appointed by the queen, to debate with him about subscribing the league, he made them this reply, "That he could not justly
" nor honestly make this league with the queen, (whom in all
" things else it was his duty to obey) that he was reconciled to
" Bothwell, by the queen's mediation: Whatever he had then
" promised, he would observe to a tittle; neither was it equitable
" or good for the commonwealth, that he should make another
" league or combination with him, or any other man living."

The queen spoke to him more kindly than ordinary for some days, and promised to tell him her mind in all things, yet she could not speak out for shame, and therefore tried his mind by her friends; they also perceiving his constancy in that which was right, openly confessed, what it was they desired: And when it was plain that they could do no manner of good with him by their underhand ways, Bothwell set upon him at last, and after much discourse told him, That he did that fact not willingly, nor for himself alone. He put on a kind of frowning countenance at that word; upon which Bothwell having sometimes by serious discourse, sometimes by terms that were the very next to downright railing, carried the matter as far as it would go, endeavoured at last to throw in seeds of discord, and to urge him to a quarrel. He, on the contrary, answered with the utmost moderation, and gave no just occasion for a dispute, yet kept close to his point, and did not depart in the least from his resolution. When Murray had laboured under these straits for some days, he asked leave of the queen, that since there was no great need of him at court, he might have liberty to retire to St. Andrews or into Murray; for he was willing to go out of the way, that he might not be suspected to be the author of the tumults which he foresaw would arise. When he could not obtain that, nor yet remain at court without great and apparent danger, he at last got leave to travel, but upon condition, that he should not make any stay in England, but go through Flanders either into Germany, or to what other place he pleased. To go to Flanders, was all one as to cast himself into evident danger, and therefore with much ado, he obtained leave to pass through England into France, and from thence whither his own choice should lead him. The queen being thus freed from a free hearted and popular person, endeavours to remove the other obstacles to her tyranny; and those were such, as would not willingly subscribe to her wickedness, or were not like to acquiesce very easily in her designs. But she had a particular resentment against those, who perceiving her to be no better affected towards her son than towards her former husband, made an association at Stirling, not out of any wicked design, but merely in order to defend the young prince whom his mother desired to place under the power of his father-

in-law. As for him, every body knew that he would make away with the child, as soon as ever he had an opportunity of doing it, for fear he should live to revenge his father's death, or at least to prevent his own children from the crown. The chief of that combination were the earls of Argyle, Morton, Marr, Athol, and Glencairn; besides others of the same order, but next in degree; as Patrick Lindsay, and Robert Boyd, with their friends and partners, who had joined themselves to them. But Argyle out of the same levity of temper with which he came in to them discovered their designs to the queen, within a day or two following; and Boyd was by large promises wrought over to the contrary party. Next to these she suspected the families of the Humes, the Kers, and the Scots, who lived just upon the borders of England: She sought by all means to lessen their power, and there appeared a pretty just occasion to second her designs in that point. For when Bothwell was preparing an expedition into Liddisdale, to make amends for the disgrace he had received there the autumn before; and likewise to get some reputation by his arms, and to extinguish the envy heaped upon him on account of the king's death; the queen commanded all the chiefs of the families in Teviotdale to come into the castle of Edinburgh, that there for some short time they might be secure, as in free custody; upon pretence, that they might not be led into an expedition, which did not seem likely to be successfully enterprised by them against their will; and they also, if at liberty, might disturb the design out of envy, and in their absence she might inure the clans to the government of others; and so, by degrees, wear off the love of their old patrons and masters. But they imagining that some deeper project lay hid under that command, went all home in the night, except Andrew Ker, who was generally thought to be no stranger, to the parricide, and, Walter Ker of Cesford, a man that by reason of his innocent life, suspected nothing. Hume, though often summoned by Bothwell to come to court, as often refused the summons, as knowing how he stood affected towards him: yet notwithstanding the design for the expedition proceeded, and the queen staid at Borthwick castle about eight miles from Edinburgh. In the mean time, they who had united to defend the prince, being not ignorant of Bothwell's intentions towards them, thought it necessary to proceed to action, not only for their own security, but also, that by demanding justice upon the author of the king's murder, they might acquit the Scots name from the infamy under which it lay amongst foreign nations. And therefore, supposing the common people would follow their motions, they privately levied about 2000 horse; so that the queen knew nothing of what was acted, till Hume came to Borthwick castle, with part of the army, and be-

sieged her and Bothwell together. But the other part of the conspirators not coming in at the time appointed, and he having not force enough to stop all passages, and not being so active himself either, as he might have been, because the rest had neglected their parts; first, Bothwell made his escape, and after him the queen in man's apparel, and went directly to Dunbar. Athol was the occasion why his associates did not come in time enough; for he, either amazed at the greatness of the undertaking, or held back by his own sluggish temper, kept the rest at Stirling, till the opportunity of the service was lost; yet that they might seem to have done something, a great part of them were sent to besiege Edinburgh. James Balfour was governor of the castle there, put in by Bothwell, as being a partner in the parricide, and author of, or else privy to all his designs; but when he saw he had no pay for his service, and was not so well respected by the tyrants as he expected (for they had endeavoured to take away the command from him) he drove out those of the contrary faction, and brought the castle under his sole dominion; he then promised the public vindicators of the parricide, that he would do them no hurt, and was treating of conditions how to deliver it up. There were at that time in the town the principal of the queen's faction, John Hamilton the archbishop of St. Andrews, George Gordon earl of Huntly, and John Lesly bishop of Ross. They having intelligence, that their enemies were received into the town, flew to the town house, and there gathering together a multitude of people, they offered to head them, and drive out their foes; but very few coming in to them, they were driven back to the castle; they were received into it by Balfour, and a few days after were sent away safe a by-way. For Balfour, having not yet fully agreed with the other side, would not then cut off all his hopes of pardon from those of his party. The town easily came into the combination, for it had been burdened a little before with new taxes from the queen; and in the public necessity they expected no moderation from her party, and were unanimously offended with her tyranny; nay, as often as they had liberty to express their sentiments, they cursed the court wickedness with the most furious execrations.

Matters being thus slowly carried on by the faction of the nobles at Borthwick, the queen and Bothwell, by the neglect of the guards, escaped by night, and with a small retinue came to Dunbar, where they had a well fortified castle to secure themselves in; hence there followed so great a turn of affairs, that they who were lately in great despair, did now, by the flocking in of those to them who were either partners in their evils, or else liking the umbrage of the royal name, grew strong enough, as they thought, to cope with and subdue their adversaries. On the o-

ther side, the vindicators of liberty were driven to great straits; for, to their great disappointment, there were but a few came in to so renowned an undertaking; the heat of the vulgar, as is usual, quickly abating, and a great part of the nobility being very averse, or at least standing aloof off, expecting the issue of the other's danger: besides, though they were superior in number, yet they wanted artillery to take the castles. Therefore as they perceived their counsels would at present come to no issue, and that necessity lay against them, they thought to return without effecting any thing. But the queen decided their doubts, for she taking courage from the numbers she had, resolved already to march with them for Leith, and try her fortune near at hand; imagining also, that her approach would make many more come in to her, and increase her force, and that her boldness would strike terror into her enemies; besides, the success which she had met with before, had so elated her spirit, that she thought hardly any man would at this time make any stand, or dare to look her in the face. This confidence of hers was very much heightened by her flatterers, and especially by Edmund Hayes, a lawyer; he told her, that all things lay open to her valour, that her enemies wanted force, and were at their wits end, and at the very first noise of her approach, would be for making off as fast as they could. Whereas indeed the matter was far otherwise, and in those present circumstances, nothing had been better for her than delay; for if she had kept herself in the castle of Dunbar but three days longer, the assertors of liberty being destitute of all preparations for a war, and finding they had attempted their liberty in vain, must have been forced to depart every one to his own house. However, excited by these bad counsels, and animated with vain and groundless hopes, she marched from Dunbar, yet she marched slowly, because she distributed arms among the countrymen, whom she gathered up by the way. At length, a little before night, they came to Seton, and because they could not be quartered there, they divided their number into two neighbouring villages, both called Preston. From thence a dreadful alarm was brought to Edinburgh before midnight, and presently the word was given, *To your arms*. They rose out of their beds, and made all the haste they could into the neighbouring fields, and there having gathered a good body together by sun-rising, they put themselves in order of battle; thence they marched to Musselburgh, to pass the river Esk, before the bridge and ford were possessed by the enemy, (that village is but two miles from Preston) but meeting no body, and perceiving no noise at all, they placed guards and centinels, and went to their quarters of refreshment. In the mean time, the scouts which were sent to watch the motions of the enemy, seeing a few horsemen, drove

them into the village, but did not dare to follow them further, for fear of falling into an ambuscade; so that they brought back no certain news of the army, only that the enemy was upon their march. Upon that, the assertors of liberty marching out of Musselburgh, saw the enemy standing in battle-array, upon the brow of an hill over-against them, and that they kept their ground. The hill being so steep, that they could not come at them without prejudice, they drew a little to the right, both to have the sun on their backs, and likewise to gain an easier ascent, and to fight upon a more advantageous ground. That design of theirs deceived the queen, for she thought they had fled, and were marching to Dalkeith, a neighbouring town of the earl of Morton's; she was fully persuaded, that the terror of her royal name was so great, that they durst not stand; but she quickly found, that *authority, as it is gotten by good arts, so may be quickly lost by bad; and that majesty, destitute of virtue, is soon brought to nothing.* In their march the people of Dalkeith brought them forth all manner of provisions in abundance. When they had refreshed themselves, and quenched their thirst, which annoyed them very much before, as soon as ever they got a convenient place, they divided their army into two bodies; Morton commanded the first, assisted by Alexander Hume and his vassals; the second was led by the earls of Glencairn, Marr, and Athol. When they were thus ready to charge, Crock the French ambassador came to them; he prefaced to them by an interpreter, how he had always studied the good and tranquillity of the Scots, and that he was now of the same mind, and therefore he earnestly desired, if possible, that the controversy might be decided to the satisfaction of both parties, without force or bloodshed; and, in order to bring about so desirable an end, he offered his service, alleging, that the queen herself likewise was not averse from peace; and, that he might incline them to believe it, he told them, she would grant a present pardon, and a general oblivion of what was done, and she faithfully promised, that they should all be indemnified for taking up arms against the supreme magistrate. When Mr. Crock's interpreter had spoken to this effect, Morton answered, "That they had not taken up arms against
 " the queen, but against the murderer of the late king, and that
 " if she would deliver him up to punishment, or separate herself
 " from him, then she should understand, that they and their fel-
 " low subjects desired nothing more than to persevere in their du-
 " ty to her; but that otherwise, no agreement could be made." Glencairn added, "That they came not thither to receive par-
 " don for taking up arms, but to give it." Crock seeing their resolution, and knowing well, that what they spoke was true, and what they desired was just, begged leave to depart, and so

went to Edinburgh. In the mean time the queen's army kept itself within the ancient camp-bounds of the English; it was a place naturally higher than the rest, and besides, fortified with a work and ditch; from whence Bothwell shewed himself, mounted on a brave steed, and proclaimed by an herald, that he was ready to fight a duel with any one of the adverse party. James Murray, a noble young man, offered himself from the other army; he had done the same before by a chartel, but suppressed his name, (as I said before); Bothwell refused him, alleging, that he was not a fit match for him, either in dignity or estate. Then came forth William Murray, James's elder brother, affirming, that, laying aside money-matters, he was as powerful as Bothwell, and even his superior in antiquity of family, and the integrity of repute. He too was refused, as being but lately made a knight, and of the second rank; many of the first rank offered themselves, especially Patrick Lindsay; he truly desired it, as the only reward of all the labours which he had undergone to maintain the honour of Scotland, that he might be permitted to fight with Bothwell. Bothwell excepted against him too; and, not knowing how to come off with credit, the queen interposed her authority, and, forbidding him to fight, put an end to the controversy. Then marching through the army on horse-back, she tried how all stood affected. Bothwell's friends and relations were forward for the fight; but the rest told her, that there were many brave soldiers in the adverse army, who being well exercised in arms, would render the hazard of a fight very dangerous; as for themselves, they were ready; but the commonalty, of which they had a great many, were averse from the cause: and therefore it was much fitter, that Bothwell himself should maintain his own cause in a duel, than that he should expose so many brave men, and especially the queen herself, to so great a hazard; but if she was fully resolved to fight, yet it was best to defer it till the next morning: for it was said that the Hamiltons were a coming with 500 horse, and that they were not far off; that when they were joined by their forces, they might then more safely advise about the main matter; for, at that time, the earl of Huntly, and John Hamilton archbishop of St. Andrews, had gathered their clans together to Hamilton, and the day after were coming to the queen. Upon this she bit her lips with anger, and fell a weeping, uttering many reproaches against the nobles, and sent a messenger to the opposite army, desiring, that they would send William Kirkaldy of Grange to her, that she would speak with him about conditions of peace, and that, in the mean time, the army should not advance; neither did the army of the assertors of liberty proceed, but they stood near, and in a low place, so that the enemy's ordnance could not annoy them. Whilst the queen

was conferring with Kirkaldy, Bothwell was bid to shift for himself, (for that was it which she aimed at, by pretending a conference), whose fears made him fly with so much haste to Dunbar, that he commanded two horsemen, who accompanied him, to return back again. Such a load of guilt lay upon his mind, that he could not trust his own friends. The queen, when she thought he was out of danger, articed with Kirkaldy, that the rest of her army should pass quietly home, and so she came with him to the nobles, clothed only with a tunicle, and a mean and thread-bare one too, reaching but a little below her knees. She was received by the van of the army, not without demonstration of their former reverence; but when she desired they would dismiss her to meet the Hamiltons, who were said to be coming on, promising to return again, and commanded Morton to undertake, that she would be as good as her word, (for she hoped by fair promises, to do whatever she would) when she could not obtain it, she burst out into all the bitterness of language, and upbraided the commanders with what she had done for them; they too heard her with silence. But when she came to the second body, there was an unanimous cry from them all; *Burn the whore, burn the paricide.* King Henry was painted in one of the banners, dead, and his little son by him, crying out for vengeance from God upon the murderers. That banner two soldiers stretched out betwixt two pikes, and set before her eyes wheresoever she went; at this sight she swooned, and could scarce be kept upon her horse; but recovering herself, she remitted nothing of her former fierceness, uttering threats and reproaches, shedding tears, and shewing all the other tokens that accompany a woman's grief. In her march she made what delay she could, expecting if any aid might come from elsewhere: but one of the company cried out, there was no reason she should expect the Hamiltons, for there was not an armed man within many miles of the place. At last, a little before night, she entered Edinburgh, her face being covered with dust and tears, as if dirt had been thrown upon it; all the people running out to see the spectacle, she passed through a great part of the city in great silence, the multitude leaving her so narrow a passage, that scarce one could go a-breast; when she was going up to her lodging, one woman of the company prayed for her; but she turning to the people, told them, besides other threatening words, that she would burn the city, and quench the fire with the blood of the perfidious citizens. When she shewed herself weeping out of the window, and a great concourse of people was made, amongst whom some commiserated her sudden change of fortune; the former banner was held out to her, upon which she shut the window, and withdrew. When she had staid there two days, she was sent prisoner by the order of the

nobles, to a castle situated in Lochleven; for Edinburgh castle was yet held by Balfour, who, though he favoured the assertors of liberty, had not however made any conditions for the surrender of the castle.

In the mean time, the bishop of Dunblane, who was sent ambassador into France, to excuse the queen's marriage, being ignorant of all that was done in Scotland after his departure, came to that court at the time, whilst these last transactions were on foot, and obtained a day for audience. The very same day in the morning there came two letters to the king and his mother, one from Crock his ambassador, another from Ninian Cockburn a Scot, who had served as captain of horse some years in France; both of them discovered the present posture of affairs in Scotland. The Scots ambassador being admitted to the king's presence, made a long and accurate speech, partly to excuse the queen's marriage, without the advice of her friends; partly to commend Bothwell to the skies, beyond all truth and reason. The queen of France interrupted the vain man, and shewed him the letters she had received from Scotland; how that the queen was a captive, and Bothwell was fled; he was astonished at the sudden ill news, and fell into a profound silence: They who were present, partly frowned, and partly smiled at this unlooked for accident; and there were none of them all but thought she suffered deservedly.

About the same time, Bothwell sent one of his most trusty servants into the castle of Edinburgh, to bring him a silver cabinet, which once belonged to Francis king of France, as appeared by the cyphers on the outside, in which were found letters, almost all of them, written in the queen's own hand. By these the king's murder, and the things which followed, were clearly discovered, and it was particularly mentioned in almost all of them that he should burn them as soon as ever he had read them. But Bothwell knowing the queen's inconstancy, as having had many evident examples of it in a few years, had preserved the letters; that so, if any difference should happen betwixt him and her, he might use them as testimonials for himself, and demonstrate by them, that he was not the author, but only a party in the king's murder. Balfour delivered this cabinet to Bothwell's servant, but withal, he informed the chiefs of the adverse party, what he had sent, whither, and by whom; upon which they took him, and found great and mighty matters contained in the letters, which though before shrewdly suspected, yet could never so clearly be made out; but here the whole wicked plot was plainly exposed to view. Bothwell not succeeding in any of his affairs, and being destitute of all help, and out of all hopes of recovering the kingdom, fled first to the Orcades, then to the isles

of Scotland; and there being reduced to extreme want, he began to play the pirate. In the interim, many dealt with, and desired the queen to separate her cause from Bothwell's; (for, if he was punished, she might easily be restored with the good-will of all her subjects): But the fierce woman, bearing as yet the spirit of her former fortune, and enraged with her present troubles, answered, *That she would rather live with him in the utmost adversity, than without him in the most royal condition.* Various were the thoughts of the nobles upon this important head: Those who were for revenging the bloody deed, hoped that as soon as ever their intentions should take air, and be publicly known, the greater part, if not all, would yield them their approbation, and even concur with them in so famous and so glorious a purpose: But it fell out far otherwise, for popular envy being abated, partly by space of time, and partly by the consideration of the uncertainty of human affairs, was turned into commiseration; nay, some of the nobility did then no less bewail the queen's calamity, than they had before execrated her cruelty, both which they did, rather out of an inconstancy of temper, than out of any propense affection to either side: Hence it too evidently appeared, that they did not seek the public tranquillity, but rather fished for their own private advantage in those troubled waters: Many on the other hand, wished for peace and quietness, and they weighed within themselves, which party was strongest, and so were inclined to side with the most powerful. Their faction was thought to be the strongest, who either consented to the murder, or else, in obsequiousness to the queen, subscribed to their impious deed after it was committed: The chief of those came into Hamilton, and being very strong, would receive neither letters nor messengers from the contrary party, in order to an accommodation; neither were they sparing in their reproaches, but upbraided them with all the calumny of language; and they were so much the more enraged, because the greatest part of the nobles, who respected rather the blasts of fortune, than the equity of the cause, did not come in to the vindicators; for they that were not *against* them, they concluded were *for* them. Besides, they esteemed it a piece of vain-glory, that the vindicators should enter before them into the metropolis of the kingdom, and from thence send for them, who were the greater and more powerful in numbers. The other party, though they had not imperiously commanded, but only humbly requested them; yet, to take away the least colour of arrogance that might be imputed to them, they prevailed with the ministers of the churches, to write jointly to them all, and severally to each in particular, that they should not be wanting to the public peace, in so dangerous and critical a juncture; but setting aside private ani-

mosities, they should consult what was most expedient for the public good. These letters did no more good with the contrary faction, than those of the nobles before; they all making the same excuses, as if it had been purposely so agreed between them. Afterwards the queen's faction met together in many places, and finding no means to accomplish their designs, they all slipped off, and dispersed several ways. In the mean time, the revengers of the public parricide dealt with the queen (whom they could not separate from the concerns of the murderers) to resign up her government, upon pretence of sickness, or any other specious allegation, and to commit the care of her son, and the administration of public affairs, to which of the nobles she pleased. At last with much ado, she appointed as governors to the child, James earl of Murray, if, upon his return home, he did not refuse the charge, James duke of Chatelherault, Matthew earl of Lennox, Gilesby earl of Argyle, John earl of Athol, James earl of Morton, Alexander earl of Glencairn, and John earl of Marr. Moreover, they sent proxies to see the king placed in his royal throne, and so to enter on the government, either at Stirling, or any other place, if they thought fit. This happened on the 25th of July, in the year of our Lord 1567. A little before which day, James earl of Murray, hearing how matters went at home, returned through France, and was pretty nobly entertained at court; yet so, that Hamilton (whose faction the Guises knew, were more intimately affected towards them) was far better received, which was occasioned chiefly by the Guises, who were averse to all Murray's designs. After he was dismissed, the archbishop of Glasgow, who called himself the queen of Scots' ambassador, told the court, that James, though absent, yet was the chief of the faction; and as in former times, all things were acted by his influence, so now he was sent for, as an head to the body of them. Hereupon, some were sent after him to bring him back; but he, having had proper precautions from his friends, had set sail from the haven of Dieppe, where he was before the king's letters came, and arriving in England, was honourably entertained by persons of all ranks and degrees, and so sent home. There he was received with the highest congratulation and joy of all the people, especially of those who were revengers of the murder, and they all earnestly desired him to undertake the government, whilst the king his sister's son, was yet a child; for that he alone was able to manage that great trust with the least envy, because of his propinquity in blood, his known valour in many dangers, his great popularity grounded on his deserts; and what was still more, it was the desire of the queen herself. He, though he knew what they spoke was true, yet desired a few days for deliberation, before he gave in his answer. In the mean time, he wrote

earnestly to the heads of the other faction, and chiefly to Argyle, as being his relation, and one, whom he was mighty loth to offend for old acquaintance sake; he told him in what posture things were, and what the infant king's party had desired of him and therefore he intreated of him, by their nearness of blood, by their ancient friendship, and by the common safety of their country, that he would give him opportunity to speak with him, that so, by his assistance, himself and their country might be delivered out of the present difficulties. He also wrote to the rest, according to every one's place and interest; and he desired of them all in general, that since matters were in such confusion, that there was no likelihood of coming to any solid settlement without a chief magistrate, that they should all agree to meet together, as soon as might be, in a place which they should judge most convenient, and so by common consent settle the public affairs, and the administration. But being unable to obtain a meeting from the one faction, or to procure any longer delay of a convention from the other, he was at length, with the unanimous consent of all present, elected REGENT.

JAMES VI. *the hundredth and eighth king.*

ON the 29th of August, after an excellent sermon made by John Knox, James VI. of that name, began his reign; James earl of Morton and Alexander Hume, took the oath for him, that he would observe the laws: They also promised in his name, that he would observe that doctrine, and those rites of religion, which were then publicly taught and practised, and oppose the contrary. Not many days after, Hamilton's partizans began to murmur, that a few persons, and those none of the most powerful either, had, without their consent, and contrary to their expectation, grasped all things into their own hands: When they had tried all the nobility one by one, they found few of their opinion, besides those who first came in to them, for many chose rather to be spectators than actors of what was done. At length they wrote to the royalists, that Argyle was ready to give a meeting, to confer with the earl of Murray. These letters being directed to the earl of Murray, without any higher title of honour, were, by the council's advice, rejected, and the messenger dismissed, in effect, without an answer. But Argyle, knowing that he had offended in superscribing his letters, and trusting to the fidelity of the regent, with a few of the chief of his faction

came to Edinburgh; where, after he was fully satisfied, that it was not out of any slight to those noblemen who were absent, but mere absolute necessity, which had caused them to make such haste in settling a chief magistrate, he came in a few days to the public convention of the estates.

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(A. C. 1567.)

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.



BOOK XIX.

WHEN the king was recognized, and the power of the regent almost settled, there was some quiet, some respite from force and arms, but the peace stood but upon a ticklish and tottering foundation: Men's minds were yet in a ferment, and their indignation, which they could not hide, seemed to portend some sudden mischief. In this great uncertainty of affairs, all men's thoughts and eyes were turned and fixed upon what the ensuing parliament would do. The time of its sitting was the 25th of August, where the assembly was so numerous, that no man ever before remembered such a concourse. There the authority of the regent was confirmed, but they differed in their opinions about the queen; for it appearing by many testimonies and proofs, especially by her own letters to Bothwell, that the whole plot of the bloody deed was laid by her: Some moved with the heinousness of the crime, and others, who had been privy to it by her in order to remove her testimony out of the way, lest they themselves should be punished as accessaries to so odious a crime,

voted, that she should suffer the utmost extremity of the law; but the majority, agreed that she should be only sentenced to an imprisonment. After the parliament rose, the winter was spent in settling judicatories, and punishing delinquents. The ambassadors of the French and English had audience; they both desired to see the queen; but she being a prisoner, on a public account, it was denied them. None but Bothwell was then in arms; upon which, some were sent with a navy to catch him as he was committing acts of piracy near the Orcades, and the isles of Shetland. The public stock was then at so low an ebb, that they were forced to borrow money of James Douglas, earl of Morton, to rig and fit out the navy; so that his private purse, at that time, bore the burden of the public charge. Bothwell was there in a manner secure, both because of the rigour of the weather, and the winter tempests then raging in those seas, which made them inaccessible for a fleet; as also, because he knew the treasury, which he himself had exhausted, could not afford money to fit one out; so that he was very near being surprised by the sudden coming of William Kirkaldy of Grange, who commanded the fleet. Some of his company were taken, but he himself escaped, with a few on the opposite side of the island amongst the shallows and fords, where great ships could not follow, and so sailed to Denmark. When he came there, not being able to give a good account from whence he came, nor whither he was bound, he was taken into custody, and afterwards, being known by some merchants, he was clapped up close prisoner; and after a loathsome imprisonment for the space of ten years, that, and other miseries, made him distracted; and thus he came to a most ignominious death, suitable to his vile and wicked course of life.

At the beginning of the next spring, the regent determined to make a progress over the whole kingdom to settle courts of justice there, in order to repair and amend what went quite the wrong way, as well as what was just upon the point of being turned into a wrong channel, by the tumults of some preceding years. This proceeding of his was variously interpreted, according to men's several humours and dispositions. The adverse faction declaimed every where against the regent's severity, or, as they phrased it, cruelty; which was indeed dreadful enough to those persons, who by reason of the greatness of their offences, could not endure to be regulated by the law, because they had been habituated and bred up to licentiousness in former times. But, if the queen were but at liberty, some of them had rewards, others impunity, in their eye; by which means many were drawn in to the contrary faction; nay, some of those too, who had served as instruments in apprehending her.

Maitland was as great an enemy to Bothwell (whom he looked upon as a vile and mischievous man, and one that would cut his throat) as he was a favourer of the queen's affairs; and because he had no hopes of overthrowing him, as long as the queen was alive, therefore in parliament he inclined to that side that would have had her punished according to law. James Balfour was in the like case, as imagining Bothwell to be his implacable enemy, though neither of them was thought innocent in the matter of the king's death. But when Bothwell was taken, and kept prisoner in Denmark, they then applied their thoughts wholly to the deliverance of the queen; not only because they hoped for an impunity of their common crime more easily from her; but also because they thought, she that had made away with her husband would do but little better with her son, whose infancy, and the shadow of whose royal name was that alone which kept her from the throne; but besides, they judged it also for their own security, for fear the son should come to the kingdom, and be the revenger of his father's death. Besides, there were no obscure conjectures, that the queen's mind was not mightily set against such an attempt; for she was often heard to say, the child was not so long-lived; and that a skilful astrologer had told her at Paris, that her first child would not live above a year, and (it is thought) that she herself came once to Stirling with the same hopes, intending to bring the child with her to Edinburgh. That suspicion caused John Erskine, governor of the castle, not to suffer the child to be taken out of his hands; and made a great part of the nobility likewise, then met at Stirling, associate themselves by oath, to maintain the said young prince in safety.

Moreover, the Hamiltons were, might and main, for freeing the queen; because if her son could but be removed out of the way by her means, they would then be themselves one degree nearer to the crown; and after that, it would be no hard task to take her off into the bargain, because she was hated by every body for her crimes; and having once been stopped in her tyranny, would afterwards let forth the reins looser, and more impetuously to cruelty. Argyle and Huntly, of which the one had a mother, the other a wife, of the family of the Hamiltons, cherished their hopes, and wished them good success, but they had also proper reasons of their own to incline them so to do; because neither of them was judged to be wholly ignorant, or guiltless, of the queen's crimes; besides, William Murray of Tullibardine, being quite averse to the regent, both by reason of his different opinion in point of religion, and likewise his having a private grudge against him, though he had been highly serviceable in taking the queen; yet did not only revolt from the royal party himself, but drew a great many of his friends along with him too, upon the proposal of no small

rewards. These were the principals in delivering the queen; there were many others also that fell in with their party, whom either domestic necessity, private grudges, desire of revenge, hope of bettering their fortune, or else propinquity or obligation to those above named, engaged to that side.

In this troublesome state of affairs, the regent was equally unmoveable against the intreaties of his friends, and the threats of his enemies, though by the public libels, which they posted up and down he very well knew the cause of their hatred, and their desire of revenge. And though some astrologers, not unacquainted with the plots designed against him, had foretold, that he would not live beyond such a day; yet he persisted in his purpose, often saying, "That he knew well enough he must die one time or other; and that he could not part with his life more nobly or creditably, than by procuring the public tranquillity of his native country." And therefore, first he summoned a convention of the estates at Glasgow, to which place the Lennox men, the people of Renfrew and Clydesdale were commanded to come, and whilst he was busied there, in the administration of justice, and in the punishment of offenders, the plot that had been so long in agitation, for the deliverance of the queen, took effect. The manner of it was this: Within the castle where the queen was kept in Lochleven, there were the regent's mother, three brothers of his by another father, and abundance of other women; yet none were admitted to visit the queen, but such as were well known; or else, that came by the regent's order. Out of these domestic attendants, the queen made choice of George Douglas as fittest for her purpose; he was the regent's youngest brother, a young man, ingenious enough, and by reason of his age, apt to be imposed upon by female enticements. He being something familiar with her, on pretence to attend her in such sports, as courts at idle times refresh themselves withal, undertook to corrupt some of the common servants of the castle, by gifts and promises; and she having intrusted the management of that point to him, would not deny any thing to such a person, from whom she expected her liberty. George then having a promise of indemnity from her himself and his partizans, and being excited with the hopes of great wealth and power for his assistance, not without the consent of his mother (as was verily thought) acted all that ever he could to bring the thing about. And though some persons smelled the design, and acquainted the regent with it, yet he put such a confidence in those he had placed there, that he changed none of the old guard, only George himself was commanded out of the island; upon that, he departed to the next village on the end of the loch; where, having before corrupted the officers of the castle with money, he had in a manner a freer

communication with the queen by letters than before; and now truly there were not only those Scots admitted to a partnership in the plot, who were discontented at the present state of things, but the French were associated too by James Hamilton, who had been regent some years before; and by James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow. The Scots, it seems, were to do the work, and the French to pay the wages.

About the end of April, an ambassador came from France, and in the name of his king, desired leave to visit the queen, which, if he did not obtain, he pretended he would presently depart. The regent told him, it was not in his power; that the queen was not made prisoner by him, neither could he determine any thing in the case, without advising with those who had first committed her, and with others who had afterwards confirmed by an act of parliament what was done; nevertheless he would gratify his sister, and the king his ally, in what he could, and would call an assembly of the nobles, the 20th of the next month in order to that end. With that answer the ambassador was somewhat pacified, and the regent went on in his courts of judicatory; whereupon the queen having bribed the master of a vessel, her other companions being sent about trifling errands, was brought out of the loch. Her escape being told to those that were then at dinner in the castle, they made a great stir, but to little purpose; for all the boats were hawled ashore, and their loop-holes, to put out their oars, were all stopped up, so that no speedy pursuit could be made. There were horsemen expecting the queen on the other side of the loch, who carried her to the several houses of the partizans in the design, and the day after, which was May 3d, she came to Hamilton, a town eleven miles distant from Glasgow. When the thing was noised abroad, many came in to her, some distrusting the king's party, which they looked upon as not very strong; others in hope of favour from the queen; and some in confidence of a reward for their old services in this tumult, discovered their minds; and part of them having obtained pardon for what was past, expecting the event of fortune, were but loose adherents to the regent. The defection of others was not so much wondered at, but the revolt of Robert Boyd, who till that very day had obtained a great opinion for his constancy, afforded matter of discourse; he being brought up on the ruins of a noble family (as I said before in the life of king James III.) parsimoniously and meanly under his father, a valiant man, and a mighty lover of the ancient frugality, followed the same course of life as the rest of his relations did; that is to say, he applied himself to richer families in order to repair his own, and to restore this noble house, that was so lately flourishing, but now decaying, to its ancient estate and dignity. For this end his father and he first

applied themselves to the Hamiltons, who were then uppermost. And when their regency was at an end, and the chief magistracy settled in the queen-dowager, and controversies about religion began to rise, he joined in with the reformers, to whom his father bore a mortal aversion. That faction was accounted the most potent, to that he adhered till the queen's coming out of France; nay, he grew very renowned for his constancy, fortitude and prudence; and Gilespey earl of Argyle was so far taken with him, that he would scarce do any one thing without his advice. However, when some of the nobles had associated at Stirling, not for any treasonable project, but only to defend the king, he indeed subscribed the league too; but then, both he -himself, and Argyle, who was guided by his counsel, shewed a great deal of levity, in discovering the whole intrigue to the queen. From that time forward, Boyd sided with the queen in all her designs, against his old friends, being in good repute with her party; but he was accounted an inconstant man, a trimmer, and a turn-coat, by those whom he had deserted. When the queen was committed to prison, Boyd made his applications to Murray the regent, and was so well respected by him, for his industry and ingenuity, that he was admitted into his cabinet-council; and though several opinions passed upon him, yet he was in high favour with the regent at Glasgow in his juridical processes; yet when he perceived it was like to come to blows, he went off privately to the queen, and sent from thence a letter to the earl of Morton, by his son, excusing his departure, and alleging, he might probably do the royalists as much service there, as if he had staid with them. His revolt, by reason of the good opinion many had of his conversation and manners, gave great occasion of discourse.

In the mean time, the regent had an hot debate in council, whether they should stay where they were, or else go to the king at Stirling. A great many were of opinion, that it was better not to stay, and they urged arguments for it; as that Hamilton was a town near them, full of people, and all the clanships of that most numerous family lay round about it. Besides, the queen had with her 500 horse, and it was reported many more were making towards her from remoter parts; whereas there were only a few of his own friends with the regent, the rest having run away to the queen, or gone privately home about their own affairs, as if all things had been quiet; and though the citizens of Glasgow were faithful enough, as being provoked by the many and great injuries they had received from the Hamiltons, when in power; yet the town itself was large, not very populous, and every way approachable. On the contrary, others reasoned, that all depended on the first beginning of things; that their departure would be dishonourable, and look like running away; that all suspicion of

fear was then principally to be avoided, for they should animate their enemies by it, and discourage their friends. On the one side, there were the Cunninghams, and the Semples, potent families; on the other side, Lennox, the king's peculiar patrimony, from whence the nearest neighbours might presently come in, within the space of a few hours; the rest either the next day, or, at farthest, the day after; in the interim, till further aid came, they had strength enough, especially being assisted by the townsmen. This advice prevailed in council.

The French ambassador posted betwixt both parties, rather as a spy than a peace-maker, which he yet pretended to be; for perceiving that there was but a small force at Glasgow at first, and an appearance of a great multitude at Hamilton, he earnestly excited the queen to put it to a battle presently. The regent had gathered a party from the neighbourhood, and expected those farther off from Merse and Lothian; there came in about 600 choice and resolute men; he gave them one day to refresh themselves, and then determined to march out to Hamilton, and to engage the enemy immediately; for he believed delay was dangerous for him, and advantageous to the enemy, whom the remote parts of the kingdom favoured most. Two days after, he was informed, about the third watch, that the enemy was drawing together from all places where they quartered; they trusted to their number, being about 6500 fighting men, and they knew the regent had scarce 4000; but they resolved to march by Glasgow, and to leave the queen in Dumbarton castle, and so either to fight, or lengthen out the war as they pleased; or if the regent should be so hardy as to stop their passage, which they believed he durst not do, they would then fight, and were confident they should beat him. But he having before determined to provoke them to battle, as soon as ever he could, drew out his men into the open field before the town, the way that he thought the enemy would come, and there waited for them in battle-array for some hours. But when he saw their troops on the other side of the river, he presently understood their design, and commanded his foot to pass over the bridge, and his horse to ford over the river, which they might do, it being low water, and so to march to Langside, where was a village by the river Cart, where the enemies were to pass, situated on the foot of an hill, looking south-west. On the east and north, the passage was steep, but on the other side, there was a gentle descent into a plain; thither they hastened with such speed, that the royalists had near possessed the hill, before the enemy, who aimed at the same place, understood their design, though they marched thither by a nearer cut; but the royalists met with two advantages, which was a great discouragement to their enemies; one, that Gilespy Campbell, earl of Argyle, who com-

manded in chief, fell suddenly down from his horse sick, and by his fall much delayed the march of his party. The other, that their forces being placed here and there in little valleys, could never see all the royalists at once, whose supposed small numbers (as indeed they were not many) made the enemy to despise them, and the disadvantages of the place too. At last, when the queen's forces drew nigh, and saw the ground which they aimed at possessed by the enemy, they went to another little hill over against them, and there divided their party into two bodies. Their chief strength they placed in the first; if they had overthrown their adversaries there, they knew the rest would be dismayed at their flight, and so march off without fighting. The king's party also divided themselves into two wings; James Douglas, earl of Morton, Robert Semple, Alexander Hume, Patrick Lindsay, each with his clanship were placed in the right. In the left stood John earl of Marr, Alexander earl of Glencairn, William earl of Monteith, and the citizens of Glasgow. The musqueteers were in the village and gardens below, near the highway. Both armies thus placed in battle array, the queen's cannoneers and foot were driven from their posts by the king's forces. On the other side, the king's horse being less by one half, were beaten back by the enemy. After they had performed that service, they endeavoured also to break the battalions of foot; in order whereunto, they charged directly up the hill, but were beat back by the king's archers, and by some of those, who after their route, had rallied again, and joined with the rest of their body. In the mean time, the left wing of the enemy marched by the highway, where there was a rising ground lower down into the valley, where though they were galled by the king's musqueteers, yet passing through those straits, they opened and ranged their body. There it was that the two battalions held out a thick stand of pikes, as a breast-work before them, and fought desperately for half an hour, without giving ground on either side; insomuch that they, whose long pikes were broke, threw daggers, stones, pieces of pikes or lances, and whatsoever they could come by, into their enemies' faces; but some of the hindermost ranks of the king's forces beginning to run, (whether out of fear or treachery, is uncertain) their flight, without doubt, had much disordered those who stood to it, unless the ranks had been so thick, that the foremost could not know what the hindmost did. Then those of the second battalion, seeing the other's danger, and perceiving no enemy coming to charge themselves, sent some whole troops to wheel to the right, and to join with the first; upon which the adverse party could not bear their charge, but were wholly routed and put to flight. Many were so enraged against them, that there would have been a great slaughter in the pursuit, had not the regent

sent out horse several ways, to forbid the execution. The second squadron of the royalists stood so long, till they saw the enemy scattering, and flying in a disorderly manner; when they, in like manner, broke their ranks, and pursued. The queen stood about a mile from the place, to see the action, and after the route, fled with some horse of her party, who had escaped, towards England; the rest ran away as well as they could, to their own homes. There were but few killed in the field, but more in the pursuit (being wearied and wounded) all along the highways and fields. The number of the slain were about 300, but there were more taken prisoners. Of the king's forces there were not many wounded, of the chief commanders none but Alexander Hume and Andrew Stewart, and only one man killed; the rest of the army, besides a few horse, who pursued very far, returned joyfully into the town; where, after giving thanks to Almighty God, for prospering their just cause against a double number of their enemies, and for giving them, in a manner, an unbloody victory, mutually congratulating one another, they went to dinner. This battle was fought May the 13th, 1568, eleven days after the queen's escape out of prison.

The French ambassador expected the event of the fight, and promised himself a sure victory on the queen's side, but being thus disappointed of his hopes, he put off his mask, and, without taking leave of the regent to whom he pretended he was sent, got a party of horse to guide him; and with what speed he could, made for England. In the way he was robbed by moss-troopers; but James Douglas, laird of Drumlanerick, though he knew he was of the enemy's party, had such deference to the honour and name of an ambassador, that he caused his goods to be restored to him. The regent passed the rest of the day of battle in taking a list of the prisoners; some he discharged *gratis*, others upon sureties; the chief commanders were retained, especially the Hamilton's family, and sent to prison. The day after, knowing how much that clan was hated in the neighbourhood, he took only 500 horse, commanding the rest of his army to stay in their quarters, and went into the vale of Clydesdale, where he found all places naked and desolate, the inhabitants being run away, as rather conscious to themselves what they had deserved, than confiding in the regent's clemency, of which they had experienced before. He took the castles of Hamilton and Draffin, which were naked places, only in Hamilton castle was found some of the house-hold stuff of king James V. The same fear and terror forced the queen into England, either because she thought no place in that part of Scotland safe enough for her; or else because she durst not trust John Maxwell of Herries.

When the regent had settled all things, as well as he could at

present, he summoned an assembly of the estates to be held at Edinburgh, in the month of The adverse party endeavoured many ways to hinder it. Rumours were spread abroad of aid from France, nor were they altogether groundless. For some troops were drawn down to the sea-side, under the command of the earl of Martigues, a stout man of the family of Luxemburgh, to be transported with all speed into Scotland; and they had been so accordingly, had not civil wars on a sudden broke out in France. But that assistance would not have been so prejudicial to the regent, as his enemies thought, for it would have alienated England from them, and engaged it to him. Moreover Argyle, with 600 of his clanship, came to Glasgow, where he had a conference with the people of Hamilton, and other leaders of the faction, to hinder the convention; but finding no way to effect it, they went every man severally home. Huntly also had got together 1000 foot, against the day of the parliament's sitting; he came as far as Perth, where perceiving that the fords of the river Tay were guarded by William Ruthven, and the neighbouring nobility, who continued loyal to the king, he retired without doing any thing of moment.

About the same time, there came letters from the queen of England, by the intercession of the adverse party, to the regent, to put off the parliament; she desired, that judgment might not be hastened concerning the rebels, till she was made acquainted with the whole cause; for she could not well bear the injury and affront, which the queen, her neighbour and near kinswoman, affirmed she had received from her subjects. Though the request was but small in itself, yet if it should have been granted, at the instance of the rebels, they might have thought to have carried all; either because such a trifling delay seemed to hearten them, and weaken their enemy, especially since it might argue a fear in the royalists; or that they, in the mean time, resolved to call a convention in the name of the queen. But the regent, being sensible of what great consequence it was to have the parliament sit, though even all the power of the enemy had combined against it, resolved to keep his day. In that parliament there was a great debate, whether all those who had taken up arms against the king, and afterwards had not obtained their pardon, should be condemned as traitors, and have their goods confiscated. But William Maitland, who secretly favoured the rebels, obtained, that only a few of them should be condemned at present, as a terror to the rest, and a door of clemency left open to others, if they repented. That procedure wonderfully encouraged the conspirators, and increased their obstinacy, since they saw their punishment deferred, and they were verily persuaded, that neither the queen of England, being their queen's neighbour and kinswo-

man, nor the Guises, who were then very powerful in the French court, nor the French king himself, would suffer such an eclipse to be made of royal majesty; and though they should be deserted by them, yet they were not so weak of themselves, as not to be able to maintain their cause without foreign aid, as being superior in number and power; so that nothing was wanting to the victory, but the empty shadow of the royal name, which was (said they) usurped by force.

In the mean time, the regent attended only the public peace: some of the neighbouring offenders he fined in small sums, and so took them into favour; the earl of Rothes, by his friends intercession, was banished for three years; as for the rest, he daily, by correspondents, solicited them to repent and come in; but perceiving that many of them were obstinate, and inclined to revenge, he levied an army, and marched into Annandale, Niddisdale, and lower Galloway, where he took some castles, and put garrisons into them; others, whose owners were more refractory, he demolished, and in a short time, would have run over the whole country, had not letters from the queen of England interrupted the course of his victories. She was persuaded by the exiles, that the queen of Scots had received much wrong: That her ill-affected subjects had laid unjust imputations on her, and declared she would not suffer the royal name to grow so cheap, or majesty to be so contumeliously used, as to be exposed to the wills of seditious persons. That the wrong of this great wickedness redounded only to one, but the example to all; and therefore she desired they would apply some speedy remedy, that the contagion of dethroning princes might not spread farther. Having made a great harangue in her letters to this purpose, against the avengers of the king's murder, she desired of the regent, "That he would send commissioners to her, to inform her of the state of the whole matter, and to make answer to those, either crimes or reproaches, which were cast upon, and alleged against himself." This demand seemed very grievous and offensive, that things already judged, should be called again in question, in a new and hazardous trial, and that before foreign princes, who are oftentimes emulous, if not enemies, and their minds already prepossessed by adversaries; and for a man, as it were, to plead for his own life, before a foreign judicature; though the case was dangerous and hard, yet many arguments induced him to comply with the proposal, though never so unequal. Abroad, the cardinal of Lorraine, the queen's uncle, ruled all in France; and at home, a great part of the nobility conspired in behalf of the queen; and if the queen of England were obliged too, then he should have no force to withstand such mighty difficulties. Being thus resolved to send ambassadors,

he could not tell whom to pitch upon: The chief of the nobility declining the employment: At last, the regent himself resolved to go, and chuse proper persons to attend him, amongst whom was William Maitland, though much against his will; but the regent, knowing him to be a factious person, and inclinable to the queen's party did not think it safe to leave him behind, whilst things were in such a doubtful condition at home; and therefore he persuaded him, by great promises and rewards, to accompany him, not doubting but to overcome his avaricious mind with large presents; the rest went very willingly. The chief were James Douglas, and Patrick Lindsay, of the nobility; of the clergy, the bishop of the Orcades, and the abbot of Dunfermline; of lawyers, James McGill, and Henry Balnavey; to whom he added a ninth, viz. George Buchanan. Though he found himself in these difficult circumstances, yet two things relieved his thoughts; one was the equity of his cause; the other, the last letters he received from the queen of England, gave him assurance, that if the crimes objected against the queen of Scots were true, she should judge her unworthy to hold that sceptre any longer. The regent was a little heartened by these letters, and with above 100 horse in his company, he began his journey, though he had certain intelligence brought him, that the earl of Westmoreland, at the command of the duke of Norfolk, watched to intercept him, before he had got to York: However, October 4th, he came to York, the place appointed for the conference, and the same day, almost hour, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, likewise entered the city. The reason why an ambush was laid for the regent, was because the duke, by secret correspondents, was dealing with the queen of Scots to marry her: and therefore, that the suspicion of the king's murder might be more easily taken away, she resolved, if the regent could be dispatched, to return home, and suppress the letters she had written to Bothwell, which contained a manifest discovery of the whole; but because the duke was so near, she could not so accomplish it, as that he might not also be aspersed with the infamy of so cruel a murder, and therefore the plot was deferred till another opportunity. Besides Norfolk, there were appointed two other commissioners by the queen of England, to determine the controversies of the Scots, the earl of Sussex, who inclined to Howard's party, as it was commonly reported, and sir Ralph Sadler, an indifferent and impartial person. Within a few days, there came messengers from the queen of Scots, to complain of her disobedient subjects, and to desire help of the queen of England, that either she would persuade her ungrateful subjects to re-admit their prince; or, if they refused, then that she would supply her with an army, to force them to it. After some few hours, the regent was heard: He stood upon

the equity of his cause, referring it to impartial judges: He pleaded, that the royalists had done nothing, but according to the ancient laws and customs of their nation, and that too ratified and approved in full parliament; and that he being a single person, with those few with him, could not abrogate any thing which had been enacted by common consent of all the estates of parliament. But when the English commissioners told them, they could not be satisfied with those statutes made at their parliaments at home, and how produced, unless withal they produced the reasons, which moved the nobility to such a severe judgment against the queen: 'The regent was unwilling, as much avoiding to divulge the foul offences of the queen, being his sister also, and that amongst foreigners, who were forward enough to hear them, and therefore denied to do it, unless upon these terms, 'That, if he made good the charge against the queen, that she killed her husband, then the queen of England should stipulate and promise to defend the young king's cause, and take him, as it were, into her protection. But when the English commissioners told them, that they had only a commission to hear the demands of both sides, and so to lay the whole matter before their queen, The regent again urged them to obtain such a promise from their queen, or else that they themselves should get a commission, fully to decide the controversy; if they would do that, he promised, unless he evidently made it appear, that the king was murdered by his wife's means, he would not think himself unworthy the punishment due to crimes the most flagrant and enormous. The commissioners wrote to the queen to know her mind herein; who returned answer, "That the Scots of the king's party should send "one or more of their number to her court, who might fully acquaint her with the merits of their cause, and then she would "consider what was fit for her to do." Upon which the regent sent William Maitland, of whom many sinister opinions daily arose, and James McGill, not so much to be his assistant in public business, as to observe his actions. The causes which made Maitland suspected were these, amongst many others: Before his journey into England, though he mightily endeavoured to conceal his designs, yet by his words and actions, and great familiarity with the men of the adverse party; and farther, by letters he sent to the Scots queen, which were intercepted, they could not be stifled. In those letters he endeavoured to persuade the queen that his service might yet be useful to her, using the example of the lion in the fable, who, being taken in a net, was freed by such mean animals as rats. And after he came to York, there was scarce a night he did not meet with the chief ambassadors of the adverse party, consulted with them, and acquainted them with the designs of the regent. The regent did not forbid those meet-

ings, knowing he should do no good by it, but only make them meet more secretly. Tho' these were manifest evidences of his treachery, yet casually there happened an undeniable demonstration of it. Norfolk and he went abroad on pretence of hunting, where they had a great deal of discourse concerning the whole affair, and came to this agreement amongst themselves, to spin out the matter, if it was possible, and so to delay it, that at last, nothing might be done, and yet the cause not seem wholly deserted neither. For by this means, the regent must depart, without effecting what he came for; or else some commotion at home would enforce him so to do, and then other remedies might emerge in time: For Norfolk was then designing a civil war, how to take off the one queen, and to marry the other. Maitland informed John Lesly, bishop of Ross, with this, one intimately acquainted with all the queen's affairs, who accordingly informed his mistress by letter, how the duke would have her write to court what course to steer for the future; and though her cause went but slowly on, yet that delay should not hinder her from expecting a good issue. The queen having read those letters, laid them by as loose papers, so that they came to be read by others; and from hand to hand, were at last brought to the regent, who by them discovered the main of his adversary's design against him; as for Maitland, he had experienced his perfidiousness many times before.

When the ambassadors before mentioned came to the queen at London, she and her council thought it best, that the regent himself should come up, and speak to the points in question by word of mouth: Upon which he dismissed part of his retinue, and with the rest went to London; but there he met with the same difficulty as he had done at York; for he refused to enter upon the accusation of the queen his sister, unless if he proved her guilty, the queen of England would take the Scots king's party into her protection: If she would do this, he would begin the accusation immediately, upon the same terms as he had proposed to the delegates at York. Whilst these things were acting in London, the queen of Scots, by means of James Balfour, endeavoured to raise commotions in Scotland; and the more easily to accomplish her designs, she wrote letters to all the exiles, and to Bothwell's friends, to contribute all their endeavours to infest the contrary faction by force of arms: And not only created lieutenants through all the kingdom, to whom she gave even kingly power, but caused rumours to be spread abroad, that the regent, and his companions were committed prisoners to the Tower of London; but foreseeing that falsehood could not be long believed, she devised another (to wit) that the regent had promised to subject Scotland to the crown of England; and, that he was to give up

the king, as a security. It is thought, her design in this was, that whereas she had promised the same things by her commissioners; and the English looked upon it as a vanity in her, seeing she had no power to perform it; yet she was willing to possess the minds of the vulgar with an untruth, and so to raise an odium against the regent; and, if she could not avert the whole reproach from herself, yet at least she would have her adversaries bear a part with her therein.

When the regent saw himself in these straits, he resolved to end matters as well as he could, and so to return home. Whereupon, at the earnest solicitation of the English, who desired to know the causes of the proceedings in Scotland (without which they could determine nothing); he also being desirous to satisfy the queen of England at that time, whom he could not offend without great prejudice to his cause; and being willing to return home to extinguish the civil war, then in its first rise, neither of which he could well do, unless the queen of England was his friend, or at least, not his enemy. Induced by these motives, he first protested before the council of England, that it was not willingly, but by the importunity of his enemies, that he was compelled to accuse his queen and sister of so horrid a crime before strangers; that he did not do it out of any inclination to accuse, but out of necessity to clear himself; for he was very unwilling to discover those things which he wished, if possible, might be covered in perpetual oblivion; and therefore, if any reflection were made on what he did, the envy ought deservedly to light upon those, who would not suffer him to be like himself; that is, to obey his prince cheerfully, when good, and to reprove him or her against his will, when evil; only he desired one thing, that the queen's proxies, who had forced him to that charge, might be present to hear the crimes objected; that so, if they were false, they might disprove them before the council; and that he himself, in many weighty matters, might also make use of their evidence. The Scots queen's commissioners refused this, as putting little confidence in their own cause, and insisted only on this one thing, that the queen, who was by force of arms ejected, might be restored. Whereupon, a day was appointed for the regent to shew cause, why the revengers of the king's murder had taken up arms (for he himself was then in France) and had ejected the queen from her government, and acted other things, as till that time they had done. When the time came, he declared, in order, all things as they had been acted, and the testimonies of the partizans of the king's murder, made before their deaths; and also the statute of parliament, to which many of the regent's accusers had subscribed. And when the silver cabinet was produced, which the queen had given her by her former husband Francis,

and had bestowed on Bothwell; in which were letters to Bothwell, writ in French with the queen's own hand, and a French poem, not inelegantly composed by her; and also the manner of the king's death; and after his death, Bothwell's carrying her off, and three contracts of marriage with him: the one before the parricide, written with her own hand, in which, as by a bill, she promises to marry him, as soon as ever she was freed from her former husband: the other was, before the divorce from his former wife, writ by Huntly's hand: the third was openly made a little before the marriage. When all this was produced, seen, and read before the council, the whole fact was so plainly exposed, that now no doubt could be made, who was the author of it. Though the queen of England could not but believe these discoveries, yet she fluctuated in her mind; on the one side, there were emulation, the queens mutually hating one another; there were also such flagrant crimes, and such evident proofs, that the English queen thought her kinswoman of Scotland deserved no assistance to restore her. And though her mind inclined to that which was right, yet it was shaken and hesitated, upon the remembrance of her former state, not without a commiseration and besides the majesty of royal honour, and a fear, lest the example of expelling princes might creep into the neighbouring kingdoms, wrought much upon her. Besides, she was afraid of France, for the peace with them was not very sure or firm; and especially at that time, the French ambassador daily pleading the cause of the banished queen. The Spanish ambassador was desired also to interpose his mediation; but the foulness of the crimes so deterred him, that he absolutely refused to meddle with it. Whereupon the queen of England, that she might leave a door open for repentance, if matters should succeed amiss in France, and not cut off all occasion of gratifying them, gave a middle answer, so tempering it, that at present she said, she knew no cause to the contrary, but that all things had been acted according to law and justice in Scotland; yet, as if she deferred the complete decision till another time, she desired, that, seeing intestine tumults recalled the regent, he would leave her one of his retinue in his stead, to make answer to those crimes, which might be objected against him in his absence. But the regent, who saw the matter to be thus delayed, that the queen might take her measures to give sentence for her own advantage, and the event of foreign affairs, left no stone unturned that he might have the cause fully determined now; and therefore he desired, as most just and equitable, that if his enemies, who had long studied beforehand to accuse him, had any thing to allege, they would now produce it, and not watch an opportunity to calumniate him in his absence, seeing they refused to appear face to face;

he was not ignorant what rumours his enemies would cause to be spread amongst the people, and what they had already said to some of the council, and to the French ambassador; and therefore he earnestly desired of the council, to command them not to mutter privately, but declare openly what they had to say; and that he wanted not to make such haste home, but that he would gladly clear himself first, let his own or the public interest suffer what it would by his absence. Whereupon the commissioners of the banished queen were sent for, and told, if they had any thing to allege against the regent or his companions, in reference to the king's murder, they should produce it. Their answer was, they had nothing at present, but they would accuse them when they were commanded by their queen. The regent answered, that he was always ready to give an account of all his actions; neither would he shun either time or place so to do; yet seeing the queen began that accusation of him, he desired of his accusers there present, that, if any of them had the least objection against him, they would then declare it; for it was much more honourable to produce it before so illustrious an assembly, than in private cabals to sully his fame in his absence: this they also refused. Upon which the whole council called upon them, and in a manner reproached them, so that they were compelled, singly and severally to confess, that they knew nothing of themselves, why Murray, or any of his, should be accused of the king's murder. Then after a long dispute, *pro* and *con*, the council was dismissed, and from that time there was never any more mention made of accusing the regent, or any of his companions.

Whilst the regent was thus necessarily detained in England, on a public account, the queen's faction tried every way, both at home and abroad, to make disturbances, but without effect. James Hamilton, who had been regent some years before, seeing that things went not according to his mind at home, had gone into France, where having but a few companions, he lived privately with a servant or two to attend him, free from the hurry of all public business. But when the queen of Scots was escaped out of prison, overcome in battle, and then fled for England, the French knowing that Murray was called home into his own country, and in his passage through France, not being able to work him over to their party, in regard they could not send men or money to Scotland, to raise disturbance there, by reason of their own commotions at home; they therefore thought it most advisable to set up Hamilton in competition with him, especially at that time, when the regent, with part of the nobility, was absent, and out of the way. He was therefore drawn out of his privacy, and accommodated with some few pistoles, and larger promises. In his return through England, his friends persuaded him, that,

since the queen of Scots, with her faction, favoured him, and the queen of England was not averse to him, he would apply to the latter, to induce Murray, by her authority, to resign his regency to him, in as much as that office, by the law and consent of almost all nations, and especially by the custom of their own country, was due to him, as the next in blood. Neither was there any great need to make a laborious search into the records of ancient times for this; in which he might easily find, that governors were always appointed to their princes, when under age, out of the next of kin; as when Robert III. died in the absence of James I. his uncle Robert managed the government, and his son Murdac succeeded Robert. And of late times, John duke of Albany was made governor to king James V. whilst he was under age; nay, that Hamilton himself had been regent, some few years before Mary, now queen, was of age fit to govern or marry; and how he was not excluded from that office by any lawful suffrages, but unjustly by the rebellious; and that which increased the indignity was, that it was done in contempt of the blood royal, and a bastard set up in his room; but if the honour were restored to him, in a very short time all domestic tumults would be quieted; and the queen, even without blood, would recover her crown and dignity again. To which the king's ambassadors answered, " That Hamilton desired a thing, not only contrary to the laws
" and customs of their ancestors; but, if the consideration of the
" law were omitted, yet it was very unjust in itself; for our an-
" cestors (said they) by reason their princes were murdered by
" their kindred, about 1300 years ago, did wholly change the
" method of their assemblies in making a king. For as before, in
" the family of Fergus, our first king, after the king's death, it
" was not the next of blood, but he that was most fit, was chosen
" king by suffrage. So Kenneth III. that he might hinder all
" plots against princes, by those of their blood, and might also
" prevent the cruel and bloody emulations of their kindred a-
" mongst themselves, made this decree of succession that now
" is, for the next of blood to be substituted in the room of the
" deceased king. And men by experience finding, that in so
" great an inconstancy of fortune, it was scarce possible but that
" sometimes the right of chief magistracy should fall on a child,
" or else on one unable to govern; therefore they decreed, that
" he who preceded others in power and wisdom, should under-
" take the administration of the government in the mean time;
" and our ancestors, by observing this course for almost 600
" years, have transmitted down a kingdom safe to us. Thus,
" when Robert Bruce died, there succeeded regents chosen by
" most voices, Thomas Randolph earl of Murray, Donald earl of
" Marr, Andrew Murray, John Randolph, Robert Stewart;

“ sometimes a single person, sometimes more than one, were
“ chosen by our public conventions to that office. So when James
“ II. was a child, Alexander Livingston was appointed his gover-
“ nor, who was no ways related to that king in blood, neither was
“ he so much as a nobleman, but a knight only, more eminent
“ for his wisdom than his family. And if any say, that was for
“ want of some of the king’s line, the excuse will not hold;
“ for at that very time, there was John Kennedy, chief of his
“ family, his nephew by the sister of James I. a man eminently
“ wise and virtuous; there were also his uncles, James Kennedy,
“ archbishop of St. Andrews, the most eminent person for virtue
“ in the whole kingdom; as also his brother, the son of the
“ king’s aunt; Douglas earl of Angus; Archibald also, earl of
“ Douglas, not far removed from the king’s line, but in power
“ was almost equal to him; at least, he was superior to all others;
“ yet none ever complained of the injustice of our assemblies in
“ chusing Livingston guardian. And not long after, James III.
“ had four tutors or guardians assigned him, not taken on the ac-
“ count of their kindred, but chosen by vote. And of late, John
“ duke of Albany was sent for by the nobility out of France, to
“ govern Scotland in the minority of James V. and when he
“ came, he was settled in the regency by a public statute, enact-
“ ed in a convention of the estates, which was not done on the
“ account of proximity in blood; for he had Alexander an elder
“ brother, one perhaps inferior to him, yet of far greater merit
“ than James Hamilton, who for a time affected that dignity. In
“ the absence of James I. Robert his uncle managed the kingdom,
“ I pray, by what right? Was he assumed into that office for
“ nearness of blood? No. Was he elected by the people? No,
“ nor that either. How was he then created? I’ll tell you how.
“ When king Robert III. was neither in body nor mind fit to ma-
“ nage the kingly office, he set up Robert his brother in his
“ stead, and commended his children to his care. The brother
“ starved David his eldest son to death; James the younger had
“ been also killed, had he not saved his life by flight. And being
“ thus settled in the possession of the government, the king his
“ brother dying of grief, he kept it without the consent of the
“ people in parliament, and transmitted it to his son Mordachus.
“ How Robert the king that died last stood affected towards his
“ brother, is very plain; for, as when he was a dying, he abo-
“ minated and cursed him, as the executioner of his children; so
“ certainly if he had been well enough in his lifetime, he would
“ not have designed him guardian to them. We are put in mind
“ of that time, wherein, after the death of James V. he himself
“ was made regent, (as if any thing at all was legally acted by
“ him all that time.)

“ When cardinal Beaton endeavoured by fraud to invade the chief magistracy, he crept into the vacant office, rather out of people’s hatred to Beaton, than love to him; being got into it, he ruled with great cruelty and avarice; and not many years ago, he sold that magistracy which he got by force, and the queen too, then committed to his care: In this was shewn, what affection the people bare to him, when they preferred the government of a woman and a stranger, before that bitter slavery they suffered under him. You see then, I suppose, how this request of Hamilton’s is contrary to the laws of our country, and the institutions of our ancestors; nay, so contrary, that for want of arguments to maintain it, he supports it only with falsehood. And if there could be supposed any custom of this kind, all men see how unjust it would be: For what can be more unequal, than to commit the innocent and weak age of the prince to his care, who either daily expects, or wishes for the death of his pupil? All whose family hath born, and doth bear great and lasting enmity to the family of the king that now reigns? What safeguard can there be here, in nearness of blood, against ancient hatred, griping avarice, and a vehement propensity to the tyranny he hath tasted of? Laodice queen of the Cappadocians, is reported to have slain her sons, as they came to age, thus purchasing to herself a short enjoyment of supreme dominion, with the innocent blood of her own children. If a mother destroyed the fruit of her womb, only to reign a little longer, what shall we think will old enemies attempt, or rather, what will they not attempt, being inflamed to cruelty by the stings of avarice, against a child, who is the only obstacle to their hopes of perpetual sovereignty? If this example seem old, obscure, and far-fetched, I will add some more illustrious ones nearer home. Who is so ignorant of what was acted, as not to know how Galeacius Sforza was slain by his uncle Lewis, though he was of age, and married, and the son-in-law too of a most powerful king? Who doth not know the calamities that followed upon that cruel parricide? The brave country of Italy was almost made a wilderness; the family of the Sforza’s, from whence so many valiant men had proceeded, was extinguished; and the barbarians were introduced into the pleasant country about the Po; whose avarice and cruelty despoiled and ravaged all. Besides, who is there of the inhabitants of Great Britain, that hath not heard of the cruelty of Richard III. king of England, against his brother’s children? And with how much blood was that parricide expiated? If men that were otherwise more sagacious, did not fear to commit such things against their nearest in blood, excited only by the desire of the

“ crown, what can be expected from him, whose inconstancy
“ is well known to all, and whose ill management of the govern-
“ ment hath already cost us so much blood? Whose family, not
“ content with the murder of this king’s great-grandfather, al-
“ ways acted traiterously against his grandfather by the mother’s
“ side, as long as he lived; and as for his grandfather by his fa-
“ ther’s side, when he could not kill him, he drove him poor, out
“ of the kingdom; his father he brought forth as a sacrifice to
“ be slain; his mother and the kingdom, when they could not
“ enjoy it themselves, they sold to strangers: And afterwards
“ when, by the providence of God, she was delivered from that
“ bondage, they cast her into those straits, in which she now is.
“ What judgment the subjects made of these things may appear
“ by this, that men seemed to themselves delivered from the pri-
“ son of a most miserable bondage, so as to taste the sweetness
“ of liberty when they sold the government, which they them-
“ selves were not able to manage, to a woman and a stranger.”

Upon the hearing of this oration, the English queen, by her council, told Hamilton, that his demand was unjust, and that she would not assist him in it; but that she was desired by the king’s ambassadors not to suffer him to depart (since he plotted nothing but sedition) till they likewise went themselves; which she looked upon as very just, and therefore promised them it should be so, and upon this, she charged him not to depart before that time. The banished queen also encouraged her friends with the hopes of her speedy return; for some letters of hers were intercepted, wherein she advised them to seize upon as many castles and fortified places as they could; and so to disperse the war abroad, as far as ever they were able: Neither need they fear the noise of a truce, or accommodation; for if matters were ended that way, all offences of former times would be covered and forgiven, under the umbrage of peace: But if it should break out into an open war, the more garrisons they had, the greater opportunity would be put into their own hands, to annoy the enemy.

When the regent had settled matters as well as he could in England, and had leave to return, some letters were brought out of Scotland, lately intercepted from the queen of Scots, wherein she complained to her friends, that she was otherwise treated by the queen of England, than she herself first expected, or as was promised, and that by means of some courtiers, who were the cause that she was not sent back with an army, as she affirmed the queen of England had promised her; but she hoped shortly to obtain a good issue another way, for messengers often had passed between her and Howard, about a marriage between them, and therefore she wished them not to be discouraged, but to increase the strength of their party, make a general disturbance,

and by all the arts they could, to hinder the régent's return into Scotland. These letters being divulged, affected people differently. The queen of England took it ill, that she was accused of breach of promise; as also, that the conditions of the truce made by her means were not kept: And therefore being very angry and enraged, she remitted much of her ancient favour to the Scots queen, and was more enclined to equity than before. The English, who wished well to the regent, were afraid that his enemies would way-lay him to do him a mischief in his journey; for in the counties which he was to pass through, they were either, for the most part, Roman catholics, or thieves inhabiting the borders of both kingdoms, who were all excited to hope for a sudden change; and it was plain, they were tampered with to intercept him in his return; for which reason abundance of the English courtiers offered him their assistance to secure his passage; but he was contented with only his own retinue, and about the 13th of January began his journey. But the queen of England judging it to be for her own credit and honour, that he should return in safety, had of her own accord written to the commanders and the warden of the marches, that when he came to places suspected, or noted for robbery, they should take care, that he might not be circumvented; and they were very careful therein, for strong guards of horse and foot were placed along the road, so that he came safe to Berwick, and the day after, which was the 2d of February, he was conducted home to Edinburgh, to the great joy of his friends; who in great numbers were assembled. His enemies hardly believed his coming at first, because false reports had been causelessly spread, that he was shut up prisoner in the Tower of London; but when it was certainly known that he was at Edinburgh, those who had beset the highways to intercept passengers, let go their prisoners, and slipped away home; so that immediately from a turbulent tempest, there grew a great calm and tranquillity.

A few days after, the nobility of the king's party had a great meeting at Stirling, where the transactions with the queen of England were opened and highly approved, by the consent of all there present. About the same time, James Hamilton, chief of his family, came out of England, who, by a new and unheard of pretence and arrogance, was adopted as a father, by the queen of Scots, and made lieutenant of the kingdom. He declared his commission, and forbade the people to obey any, but those substituted by him; upon this the royalists disbursed sums of money to raise forces, and to prepare to fight if need were: And accordingly, at an appointed day, they met at Glasgow, but seeing the country came not in to Hamilton, according to his expectation, by the mediation of his friends, terms of agreement were propos-

ed, upon which Hamilton was commanded to come to Glasgow, to acknowledge the king as chief magistrate: If he did that the rest would be easily accommodated; if he refused, it was in vain for him to come. He, by the advice of his friends that were with him, being forsaken by his clanships, and terrified by the near approach of his enemy's army, resolved to comply with necessity, and to promise all that was desired; but when the forces of the royalists were disbanded, then he would consult his advantage at leisure. When they came to Glasgow, a day was appointed, wherein they and their friends should profess their allegiance to the king, and so recover their old estates and honours: In the mean time, they were to remain in prison, or to give in hostages of their kindred, for their forthcoming. This also was added to their conditions, that all of the same party might come in, if they pleased, on the same terms. Argyle and Huntly refused to subscribe to those articles, either out of anger to Hamilton, that he had given up himself to his enemy's hands, without asking their advice; or else because they thought to obtain for themselves more easy terms of peace. In respect of their power, or else, being encouraged by frequent letters from England, they were easily inclined to that they had most mind to. For whilst these things were acted in Scotland, letters came from the exiled queen, containing large promises, and desiring them not to be terrified with vain threats, for she should shortly be with them, with a great army. Their minds were ready to receive this news; and so much the rather, because the queen was kept with a looser guard than ordinary; and there was daily talk of her marriage with Howard. When Hamilton was come to Edinburgh, at the day appointed, he eluded his promise by several pretences; as that the rest of his party should come together, and so be all comprehended at once in one agreement: As also, that they might send to the queen to know her mind; and to this end, he desired to defer the matter till the 10th of May. To this his evident trifling, they answered that it was to no purpose for him to expect Argyle and Huntly, for they had declared, they would manage their concerns apart. As for the queen, it was demanded, if she did not approve the capitulation, what they would do? Then Hamilton answered ingenuously enough, but not so prudently for the time, that he was compelled to those conditions, by the force and terror of an army; that if he were left free to himself, he would not subscribe at all: This being openly discovered, the regent committed Hamilton and Maxwell to Edinburgh castle. The rest of the dispute was about Argyle and Huntly; for Argyle, whilst the regent was in England, came to Glasgow, to consult about public affairs, with about 1500 men in his company. Thither also came many of the neigh-

bouring countries of that faction; where they differed in their opinions, and agreed in nothing, but only to disturb the public peace. The people of Hamilton desired of Argyle, that seeing the inhabitants of Lennox were firm to the king's cause, he would vex them, by driving away their cattle, that so he might the better draw them, though unwilling, to his party; or else might so impoverish them, as to render them unable to be of so much advantage to their own side. When Argyle had communicated the thing to the council of his friends, not one of them favoured his design; for they remembered, that, for many years, the people of Lennox had been much addicted to Argyle, and that there were many alliances between them. Besides, said they, why are the Argyle men nearer than those of Hamilton to the people of Lennox, who lie in the middle between them both? Or why should they put a task, so full of odium, upon him? Since it was principally their own affair, let them appear *first* in it, and then Argyle would not be wanting. He would be a companion, not a leader, in such an expedition. When that assembly had held some days, it was dissolved, without doing any thing, and Argyle returned through Lennox, which was his nearest way, without doing them any hurt; which moderation of his endeared him, both to the commons and chiefs of the opposite faction, and made his pardon more easily obtainable.

But Huntly had endeavoured in vain to break through Mern, Angus, and Strathearn, in the regent's absence, having plundered the country, and their castle, and ranging over the neighbouring places, had appointed Crawford and Ogilvy his lieutenants about Dee, usurping, at the same time, all the power of a king. This carriage of his made his reconciliation the more difficult. These two men, seeing their concerns were different, had a council assigned, to meet at St. Andrews. Thither Argyle came first: he was easily reconciled, for that year and the former, he had committed no act of hostility; and besides, he was the regent's kinsman, and from his childhood, his great acquaintance and familiar friend. So that all he required of him, was, an oath to be faithful to the king for the future; which, if he were not, besides the usual punishment of the law, he did not desire but to be accounted the basest person living. The rest were also admitted into favour, upon the same oath, but on far different conditions. But Huntly's case, before his arrival, was long debated in council.

For, whereas in England, the marriage of the exiled queen with Howard was carried on, and their coming into Scotland was privately designed; their faction there did, by degrees, take heart, and encourage the rebellious to disobedience. For, if matters were put into confusion, they thought the new husband would

have an easier entrance to possess the kingdom; for which reason when they knew that the regent would not be persuaded to betray the king, as being his guardian and uncle, they endeavoured by all means to abridge his power. For, besides those that had openly taken arms against the king, a great part of the counsellors did not now, as heretofore, favour Huntly in secret, but openly. They pleaded strenuously for him, that he should be indemnified for what was past, since that was the readiest and safest way to agreement; nay, that it was more creditable for the state, to heal civil breaches without violence, and not to proceed to forfeiture of goods or loss of life; and by this means, peace might be obtained at home, and renown abroad. But if a military course were taken, they must fight with a man, who, by reason of his ancient power, his great alliance, and by his many clanships, was very formidable; and, if he were overcome (which yet was uncertain) he might fly to the highlands and mountainous deserts, or to foreign princes, where out of a small spark of disgust, a mighty flame of war might in time be kindled. On the other side, it was alleged, that the war would not be so formidable as some imagined; for his father, though he had the report of a very prudent man, was yet easily subdued, even whilst his force was entire; and therefore this young man, whose power was not yet established, and besides, was discouraged by the recent calamity of his family, was never able to bear up against all the power of the kingdom, and the majesty of the kingly name too: and if he were overcome in fight, or if distrusting his forces, he fled to the mountains, there were those, who, by the same largesses by which he had attached them to his service, or by greater, might be induced either to kill him, or to betray him to the regent. *For the faith of mercenaries is changed with fortune; they follow the prosperous, and forsake the afflicted.* As for foreign princes, *they esteemed men according to their power; neither were they concerned for another's misery, but respected only their own advantage.* But if any king of another temper should be so clement and merciful, as to entertain a fugitive and a beggar too; yet now the times were such as took off that fear. For England alone, of all Europe, was the country which enjoyed a flourishing peace, and that favoured the cause; but other neighbouring kingdoms were so busied with domestic dissensions, that they had no time to look abroad: and if they had leisure so to do, yet there was some ground of hope, that equity would prevail more with them than mercy towards exiles, who were rebels to their own kings, and faithless to the kings of other nations. As for the impunity, which they say will declare our clemency; it will rather be an argument of our negligence, in regard a just combat being declined through fear, a war is imprudently nourished under a pretence of peace, and that such a pre-

tence as would encourage the crest-fallen spirits of the rebels, and weaken the chearful endeavours of the king's best friends. For how do you think will both parties stand affected, when the one side sees that all is lawful for them, without present punishment, and so they hope it will be for the future: and the other sees their perfidious enemies to be well rewarded for their wicked crimes, themselves robbed of all their goods, and vexed with all the calamities of war; and, whereas they expected a reward for their faithfulness and constancy, instead of it, to be punished for their love to their king and country? And therefore who can doubt but that, if matters hereafter come to arms (which of necessity they must do, unless this fire be now quenched, before it break forth) who, I say, can doubt, but that party will be strongest, which thrives by its wickedness, and which may do all things with impunity; rather than the other, which must suffer all injuries offered to them with patience? And if those inconveniences did not attend this vain shew of clemency, yet neither the regent, nor the king himself, could lawfully so pardon, as to give away the goods of the robbed to their plunderers. If they should do that, they must lay down the persons of rulers, and take upon them the habit of spoilers too; if such a condition should be granted, it were much more cruel for people to be despoiled of their estates by kings, *the granters of indemnity*, than by their very enemies that robbed them. Many things having been canvassed, and alleged to this purpose, on either side; those who were for his indemnity, were outvoted by a few voices. The regent declared that, for peace sake, he was very willing to pardon their private wrongs done to himself and the king; but for the injuries offered to particular persons, he neither could nor would pardon them: but if Huntly and those friends of his who had followed his party, could make some terms of agreement with those they had plundered, he was very willing, by the consent of both parties, to appoint arbitrators, who might adjust the value of the losses.

Peace, as it was thought, being settled on these conditions, there arose another dispute, seemingly small, but managed with greater eagerness than before. The question was, whether pardon was to be given to all of Huntly's party promiscuously, or whether every man's cause and deserts should be considered apart? Some were of opinion, that because they thought Huntly was dealt hardly with in being forced to pay damages to the sufferers, that it was equitable to indulge him here, and not to press so severely, as to disoblige his followers also. On the other side it was alleged, that the chief aim, in such kind of wars, was to dissolve factions; and that could not be done easily, any otherwise than if the judgment of pardon or punishment did reside in

the breast of the prince alone. All men understand, how unjust it is, to impose an equal fine on those whose offences are unequal; and that the adjusting of the punishment should be left to Huntly himself, was by no means fit; for he (it was probable) would exact the lightest fine from the greatest offenders; and would lay almost the whole burden upon such as were least criminal: since in imposing punishment, he would not weigh each man's merit, but rather his propensity to his service; and as any man had been more fierce and cruel in the war, so he would obtain from him a higher place in his favour. On the other side, the lightest offenders would have the sorest punishment, and they who were less active in wickedness, should be fined for their moderation and favour towards the king. These reasons so prevailed with the council, that they decreed to weigh every man's case apart; and yet, that they might seem to gratify Huntly in some things, his domestics were exempted, he was to lay a fine on them himself as he pleased; but that which he most desired, that the regent should not come with an army into the north parts, was absolutely refused him.

Things being thus settled with Huntly at St. Andrews, the regent, with two companies of soldiers, and a great number of his friends, went first to Aberdeen, then to Elgin, and at last to Inverness. The inhabitants near these towns being commanded to appear, they obeyed the summons; some paid down the money imposed as a fine on them, others gave sureties. Huntly, and the chiefs of his clanships put in hostages. Thus having settled the country towards the north, being highly congratulated by all good men through all his march, he returned to St. Johnstons, where an assembly of the nobility was summoned, on account of letters, which Robert Boyd had brought out of England to the regent at Elgin; some of them were public, some were private; the private ones were from some courtiers in England, containing a relation of Howard's conspiracy, which was so strong and cunningly laid, that they thought no force or policy could withstand it, though all the remaining power of Britain were united together. In these letters his friends exhorted him not to mingle his own flourishing fortune with the desperate condition of others, but to provide for himself and his concerns, yet unimpaired, apart.

The state of affairs in England compels me here a little to digress; because at that time, the good and ill of both kingdoms were so conjoined, that the one cannot well be explained without the other. The Scots, a few years before, were delivered from French slavery by the assistance of the English, and thereupon they observed and subscribed to the same rites in religion, in common with the English. That sudden change of things seemed to promise an universal quietness to all Britain, free from all domes-

tic tumults. But presently upon this, the pope, with the kings of France and Spain, threatened a war, and privately combined to give another turn to things. The pope was not wanting, by his exhortations and promises, to stir up their minds already enraged; but the kings were not sufficiently agreed amongst themselves; and their forces were so exhausted, that they rather desired a war, than were able to make it. Besides, there was an emulation between them; one could not well bear that the other should have so great an accession as England, if it were conquered, to his dominions. And then also some disputes arose between them and their subjects, which diverted their thoughts from foreign affairs, though the novelty of a woman's reign, and she a young woman too, and unmarried, gave encouragement thereto (especially since those who were ill affected to her, said she was born to Henry VIII. in an unlawful marriage) and the former differences about the kingdom and religion, were rather stifled than extinguished; and besides that, the sparks of discontent glowed still in men's minds, which in a short time were likely to break out into a flame.

In the mean time, the English catholics had made many attempts, but in vain; for they were soon quelled; and though their designs never succeeded, yet foreigners still feeding them only with blooming hopes, not with real supplies, they still persisted in the same resolute design, wanting rather a commander for their numbers, than power or courage to assemble. The common people of that profession had taken a view of all the nobility, and they found none fit enough, to whom they might commit their lives and fortunes; many of the most stirring had been cut off in the civil wars; many had gone over to the other party; some were so old, that they were unfit for public business; or else the vigour of their minds, as well as the strength of their bodies, was so debilitated, that they desired peace, if it were but a tolerable one. There was only one man, who for courage and power seemed fit to undertake so great a business, and that was Thomas Howard, who though he was of himself inclinable to quietness, yet there were some causes which moved him to study innovations; for his father and grandfather, though they had been highly eminent, both in war and peace, yet in the storms of an unstable court, they had been so tossed, that their highest glory was balanced with as great disgrace. His father was condemned for treason, and publicly beheaded; and two queens, his kinswomen, had been also put to death; he in those difficulties was liberally brought up, and so preserved his family from being quite extinguished. In his very youth, he gave a specimen of great prudence, and in a few years by the death of his wives, and by new marriages, he grew so rich, that, next to the queen, he was the most potent of the En-

glish. For wealth and prudence, the rest of the nobility yielded to him; but, as for his skill in military matters, he had yet given no proof of it; but in the controversies of religion, he carried himself so swimmingly and ambiguously, that though he favoured popery in his heart, yet he was such a patron of the contrary party, that many of them made sure of him in their thoughts, as their own.

During this, the queen of Scots army was routed, and she herself fled to England, when she wrote letters to that queen, concerning the cause of her coming; she was bid by her to retire to the house of the lord Scroop, warden of the marches, till she had considered of her demands in council. Scroop's wife was Howard's sister, and by her means the treaty of marriage was secretly begun between the queen and Howard; and the opportunity seemed to be offered by God himself, seeing Howard's third wife was lately dead, and he was then a widower. The design was concealed, as being entrusted but to a few, yet it was whispered abroad among the common people; *for narrow spirits cannot conceal great hopes, but joy gives them vent, and so they fly abroad.* The matter was so far advanced, that the fire of a civil war seemed ready to break out; nay, and some were so confident of success, after they had considered the strength of their parties, that they thought Howard might easily do what he pleased, without using any force.

Things were in this posture, when the Scots nobles had a great meeting at Perth, to hear the demands of both queens, both of them having written to them. The queen of England's letters proposed one of these three conditions. The first was absolute, that the queen might be restored to her throne and dignity as formerly. But if that could not be granted, then, that she might reign jointly with her son, that so she might enjoy princely honour in letters and public acts; in the mean time, the regency should be in the hands of the present regent, till the king came to the age of seventeen. If neither of these could be obtained, then the third condition was (if the queen could be persuaded to accept of it) that she should live privately at home, being content with those honours, which, saving the authority and majesty of the king, might be granted to her. This last request was easily assented to, if the queen would accept it; but the other two were peremptorily refused. For the better and more incorrupt part of the nobility were resolute in this, that they neither could, nor ought to determine any thing which might diminish the king's authority, especially being lawfully enthroned; but the two former heads lessened the king's honour, nay, and exposed his life too, being a pupil, unless it could be thought that his mother, who was known to be cruel to her husband, was not well affected to-

wards her son either, being exasperated by her banishment, should be now more kind to him than she had ever been before. The letters also from the exiled queen were read, wherein she desired, that some judges might be appointed to consider of her marriage with Bothwell; and, if it was found contrary to the law, that she might be released from him. Those letters highly incensed the king's party, because she wrote herself as queen, and commanded them as subjects. Nay, some would not have had them answered at all, because they seemed to abridge the king of his power, and to arrogate all to an exiled queen. But that part of the council which was for the queen, alleged, that they wondered much, why those who had the last year much desired that she would separate her cause from Bothwell's, now when it was freely offered to them, should hinder it as eagerly as they had before earnestly desired it. If a word or two in the letters did displease them, that fault might easily be amended; nay, some there were, who undertook (provided the matter of the divorce might be discussed in the mean time) to procure a commission from her, in what expressions they themselves would have it. On the contrary, the adverse party urged, that they saw no new cause of such great haste; sixty days was but a lawful time for Bothwell, who was out of the kingdom, to appear; within which time a new commission might be sent. Neither ought that delay to seem long, especially to her, who had passed over so great a matter in silence, two years, and had now sent letters, which were of themselves an hindrance, why those who were willing to gratify her, could not comply with them. But if she seriously desired a divorce, it was easy to be obtained; let her but write to the king of Denmark, desiring him to punish the murderer of her former husband; who being once dead, she might marry whom and where she pleased, though all her adversaries should forbid. But if she refused this, then it was plain, she spoke not sincerely and from her heart, but made a counterfeit pretence of divorce, that, if she married again, she might also live in a disputable and uncertain matrimony, even with her next husband. And of this there was a strong suspicion, because she desired such judges to determine the divorce, who had no power in the case. For what power could the regent have over exiles, with whom he had nothing at all to do; and who, unless they themselves pleased, might refuse to stand to his judgment? Or how could they, who had not the disposal of themselves, submit to another's judgment? But seeing there seemed to be some hidden fraud in the case, a decision was not to be hastily made, but the queen of England was to be acquainted with it, in whose power it was, either to promote or hinder it. Hereupon a young nobleman, of the regent's friends, was

sent to the queen of England, to acquaint her with the acts of the convention. Some may perhaps wonder, that since greater matters were transacted with less dispute, there should be such ado made about the divorce. But this was the cause of it: Howard had privately transacted by his friends, concerning his marrying the queen of Scots; and the conspiracy was so strong both at home and abroad, that it was rumoured among the vulgar, the design was, to take away both of the lawful princes, and so to seize on the two kingdoms for themselves; the place, time, and the whole of the design was so ordered, that all things seemed to be secure against any force whatsoever. The conspirators were most forward and urgent to remove what might hinder the marriage; if that were done, they seemed secure, that all the rest should fall in of itself. On the contrary, they who were for the king, made it their chief business to cast in causes to delay it; for that, in the mean while, many secret designs might in time be discovered, and the conspiracy prevented by the care of both princes.

In this posture of affairs the decree of the Scots council was brought to the queen of England; but she alleging she was not satisfied with that answer, and that the messenger did not seem to her a fit person with whom she might confer in so dangerous a time, and about such weighty matters, desired to be better informed by the Scots of those matters. Whereupon there was another assembly of the nobility held at Stirling, where they drew up this answer: “ That as for the third of her late propositions, it
“ might admit of a consultation, in order to an agreement; but
“ the second was of that kind, that no consultation at all could be
“ admitted on that head, without manifest impiety, in regard it
“ would not only diminish, but even extirpate the royal authority. For besides that all partnership in supreme magistracy is
“ dangerous; how can two be equally joined in government; of
“ whom one was a child, scarce out of his infancy; the other a
“ woman in the prime of her age, of a crafty wit, having passed
“ through variety of fortunes, who, as soon as ever she can wind
“ herself into part of the government, either by the strength of
“ that faction, which, though she was removed by a public decree from the administration, do yet labour to restore her, not
“ by intreaties, but threats; or else by corrupting the king’s
“ friends; or lastly, by foreign soldiers, whom she is now busy to
“ procure, will soon derive the whole authority to herself? How
“ will she endure that an infant should be equalled with her, who
“ would not be equalled even by her husband? Besides, if she
“ should marry some powerful person, (such a matter being now
“ on foot), her strength would be doubled, and her husband (as
“ of necessity he must) be admitted into part of the government,

“ and would not willingly suffer, that his children should be prevented in the succession by a son-in-law; and then, in what a case would the child be? What if his friends (as most men are inconstant) should prefer a present benefit to future hopes, and so side with the strongest? What can attend an infant, being now thrust down into the second, and then into the third place, but utter ruin? As for other things, they had rather leave them to her private thoughts to meditate upon, than to make a previous conjecture, what an angry woman, having power in her hands, prompted by the imperious counsels of her uncles, having evidenced her cruelty towards her husband, being also exasperated by her banishment, would attempt against a child, especially when stripped of all aid of nature and fortune, and exposed as a sacrifice to her rage? And what life would his friends lead, by whom she thought she was so grievously wronged? Besides, what would the state of religion be, when she could vent that rage, which in former times her fear had concealed, especially if an husband, of known arrogance, should further excite her innate cruelty? How easily might the young king’s friends be destroyed, when he was cut off? Or how soon might the king be subverted, when he had lost his friends? For these reasons the queen could not be assumed into a part of the government, without evident destruction to the king. Matters standing thus, there was no need to speak any thing to the first head of her demands.”

Robert Pitcairn was sent to carry this answer into England, a man of no less prudence than loyalty; and he came to that court in the very crisis of time when the conspiracy to kill the queen, and to seize on both kingdoms, was discovered. The plot was so strongly laid, that the queen of England began to be afraid of herself; and after she had sent Howard to the Tower of London, she durst not proceed to punish the queen of Scots, but was consulting to send her by sea to the regent of Scotland; but when the storm was a little over, that design vanished.

In the mean time, the regent seeing the power of the adverse faction mightily increase, sends for William Maitland, who was a great incendiary to the conspiracy, from Perth to Stirling; he being conscious of his guilt, though he had experienced the regent’s lenity to all his friends, even in the greatest offences, yet made no great haste to come; till having before sifted out, by his friends, if any design was formed against him; he tampered also with the earl of Athol to go with him, that, if need were, he might use him as his intercessor. As he was sitting in council at Stirling, Thomas Crawford, a

dependent of the earl of Lennox's, accused him of having a hand in the king's murder: Whereupon he was commanded to be kept close prisoner in a chamber in the castle; whilst others were sent to apprehend James Balfour, who was absent. The wiser sort would have had them both proceeded against according to law, as having been the authors of the tumults that had happened for some years; and as they were privy to the murder of the last king, so they were leaders of the faction against the present: But the lenity of the regent overcame all consideration of public good; which proved calamitous to his country, and fatal to himself: Balfour, by his friends' mediation, obtained pardon for his conspiracy, though lately entered into; and Maitland was brought to Edinburgh, into a lodging not far from the castle; some horsemen were appointed to guard him, under the command of Alexander Hume, a young and active nobleman; but William Kirkaldy, governor of the castle, about ten o'clock at night brought counterfeit letters to Alexander, (as if they had been the hand-writing of the earl of Murray) which commanded him to deliver Maitland into his custody. He knowing in how great favour Kirkaldy was with Murray, readily obeyed, and thus Maitland was carried into the castle by the governor, who, even till then, had privily been of the enemies party.

The nobility were exasperated at it, and almost doubted whether they should impute so great an offence to Kirkaldy, or to the regent himself, as one not ignorant of his audacity: and the matter had come to a sedition, if the sanctity of his whole life had not outbalanced all imputations of reproach. It is true, Kirkaldy was a valiant man, and accounted, till that time, a faithful observer of friendship, and as he had received many other courtesies from the regent, so he had been lately preferred by him to the government of the castle, before his other friends and kindred, though the more discerning sort did even then suspect him; but such was the indulgence of the regent towards those whom he once loved, that he could not be severe to them, though taken in the very act of offending. Kirkaldy, the next day, was sent for by the regent, but refused to come; and this in an unlucky hour, when Howard and the queen were daily expected, raised the spirits of the adverse faction. Strange reports were commonly spread abroad, that the regent was forsaken by his intimate friends, in such a doubtful time; and so the castle being held against him, he was left to his enemies' will, others being likely to follow so leading an example very shortly; and when the governor was taken away, the innocent king and his favourers would be delivered up to those punishments which the cruelest tyrants could devise.

Yet the regent was not moved by their speeches, but the next day went to the castle, and spoke to the governor with an unchanged countenance, as if he had been reconciled to him, and so returned to the expedition he had undertaken against the robbers. In his passage through March he turned aside, as he was wont familiarly to do, to Alexander Hume, the chief of that clanship; there also (Hume himself being covetous, and having been drawn off by great promises to the contrary faction) he found no good reception from Hume's wife, who being an arrogant woman, even ridiculed him to his face; thence he went to Teviotdale, coming thither with a small retinue, and little more than his ordinary guard, the thieves admiring his valour and constancy, in that solitude of his friends, having received the public faith for their return, came in such numbers to him, that their multitude equalled, nay, sometimes exceeded those of his attendants; yet he remitted nothing of his former greatness of mind, but answered them as became the dignity of the public and his own too; and without doubt, he had quieted them without force, had not some of the neighbouring nobility, well affected to Howard, and now ready to take arms, hindered his design. His friends came in to him at the time appointed, and then he marched into the territory of the thieves, though some of the neighbourhood endeavoured to dissuade him, telling him of the difficulty and danger of the expedition. He passed with his army through Liddisdale, Eusdale and Eskdale, and received hostages not only from them, but from those beyond them; only some, who, by reason of the greatness of their offences, despaired of pardon, were outlawed. This expedition procured him not only the favour of the people for settling them in security, but raised their admiration also, that a man forsaken by his intimate friends, and extremely unprovided of necessaries, should accomplish that in a few days, which the most potent of our kings, in full peace, and with great forces, could hardly effect in a long time.

Whilst these things were acting, he was made acquainted that the English conspiracy was detected, Howard committed to prison, and the Scots queen more strictly guarded than before. Robert Pitcairn, having performed his embassy with good success, was returned; he informed the regent, that his proceedings were very acceptable to the queen of England; in that he had quieted the borders; that he had imprisoned the earl of Northumberland, one of the conspirators, who was fled into Scotland; that he was pursuing all the rest as enemies; that he had sent to the governor of Berwick, to offer him assistance freely on all occasions. These courtesies she promised to remember.

and that she should not be wanting to him in his dangers, but that all the force of England should be at his service if need were.

All the time of this expedition, the regent had daily information brought him by his faithful friends, of a great conspiracy against him entered into at home. And in all the letters the governor of the castle was still accused; whereupon the regent, old courtesies and ancient acquaintance not being yet quite worn out of memory, wrote to him plainly, and sent him a copy of all his accusations. He answered so coldly to the crimes objected, that he became now more suspected than before: He denied, that any man could shew his subscription to any engagement, relating to that conspiracy.

In the mean time, the day for Maitland's trial drew near: For after he was carried to the castle, to put a bold face on a bad matter, he expressly desired to be brought to his trial; for he was fully persuaded, that the power of the conspirators was so great in England, and also in Scotland, (of whom he was one of the chief) that nothing could be orderly or lawfully determined: For in trials of life and death, there used to be great flockings together of friends and vassals, according to the faction, favour, or nobility of the accused, as it happened also at this time. The chief of the faction against the king, viz. the earls of Hamilton, Gordon, and Argyle, gathered all their force against that day; hoping, that if the judgment were disturbed by arms (as it was easy to do) they might end the conflict at one skirmish, as being superior in number of men, opportunity of the place, and also better provided for war. The regent expected not a contest by arms, but law, and had therefore made no preparation on the other side; and thus being unwilling to put things to the utmost hazard before he needs must; and also, lest the majesty of the government might be lessened by contending with his inferiors, he put off the day of trial; and the day after, about January the first, having sent the earl of Northumberland to a prison in Lochleven, he went to Stirling.

The adverse party thus again disappointed, and perceiving the authority and power of the regent to increase, and that, besides his popularity at home, he was also supported by the English; being stirred up, partly by emulation, partly by the large promises of the queen of Scots, who by letters informed them, that the French and Spanish forces would be presently with them, they proceeded to accomplish that which they had long designed, even the cutting off the regent. As long as he was alive, they knew their projects could not take effect, and therefore they sent messengers through all countries to the chiefs of their faction,

to enter into a league to that purpose. To this league the Hamiltons subscribed, and those who either themselves or their children were prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh. The governor himself was thought to be privy to it, and that which followed, increased the suspicion: James Hamilton, son of the archbishop of St. Andrews his sister, promised to be the instrument, and endeavoured to find a fit time and place to commit the murder. It happened, that at the same time some hopes were given to the regent, that Dumbarton would be rendered up on conditions; whither he went, but returned without success. Hamilton being intent on all occasions, his ambushes not succeeding well, first at Glasgow, then at Stirling, he fixed upon Linlithgow, as a place fittest to execute his purpose, because that town was in the clanship of the Hamiltons, and the archbishop his uncle had a house there, not far from that where the regent used to lodge; in that house, being prepared for the murder, he closely concealed himself. The regent had often been apprised of this design, and particularly that morning, before it was light: The discoverer for more surety added, that the murderer lay hid at the distance of three or four houses from his lodging; that if he would send a small party with him, he would pull him out of his hole, and so discover the whole design and order of the secret plot: But the regent would not alter his former purpose: only he designed to go out of the town thro' the same gate he came in at, and then take another route in his journey; but neither did he keep to this resolution; either because he undervalued such dangers, as believing his life to be in God's hand, to whom he was willing to render it, when it was called for; or else because the multitude of horse, waiting for him, stopped up the way. When he was got on horseback, he thought to ride swiftly by the suspected places, and so to avoid the danger: but the multitude of the people crowding in, hindered this design also, so that the murderer, out of a wooden balcony, which he had purposely covered with linen, as if it was for another use, shot him with a leaden bullet, a little below the navel, and it came out almost by his reins, and also killed the horse of George Douglas, which was beyond him. Hamilton escaped by a back door or passage of the garden, which he had plucked down for that end; and so mounting a swift horse, set on purpose to carry him off, after he had committed the fact, by James Hamilton, abbot of Aberbrothock, he rode to Hamilton, with the great gratulation of those who waited to hear the event of his audacious enterprize; who commended him highly, and rewarded him profusely, as if now the kingdom had been actually translated into their own family.

They at Linlithgow being startled at the suddenness of the

noise, the regent told them he was wounded, and as if he had not felt it, he leaped from his horse, and went on foot to his lodging: They who were sent for to cure the wound, at first said it was not mortal; but his pain increasing, though his mind was not disturbed, he began seriously to think of death. Those who were about him, told him that this was the fruit of his own lenity, in sparing too many notorious offenders, and amongst the rest his own murderer, who had been condemned for treason. To which he returned a mild answer, according to his custom, saying, *Your importunity shall never make me repent of my clemency.* Then having settled his domestic affairs, he commended the king to the nobles there present, and, without speaking a reproachful word of any man, departed this life before midnight, about January 23d, in the year 1571.

His death was lamented by all good men, especially by the commons, who loved him alive, and lamented him when dead, as the public father of his country; for, besides his many other noble achievements, they called to mind, that not a year before, he had so quieted all the troublesome parts of the kingdom, that a man was as safe on the road, or at his inn, as in his own house; and envy dying with him, they who were disaffected to him when alive, really praised him when dead. They admired his valour in war, which yet was always accompanied with a great desire of peace; his celerity in business was always so successful, that an especial providence of God seemed to shine on all his actions; besides, his clemency was great in moderately punishing, and his equity as great in his legal decisions. When he had any spare time from war, he would sit all day long in the college of the judges; so that his presence struck such a reverence into them, that the poor were not oppressed by false accusations, nor tired out by long attendance, their causes not being put off to gratify the rich. His house, like an holy temple, was free, not only from impiety, but even from wanton words; after dinner and supper, he always caused a chapter out of the holy Bible to be read; and though he had still a learned man to interpret it, yet if there were any eminent scholars there, (as frequently there were a great many, and such were still respected by him), he would ask their opinions of it; which he did, not out of a vain ambition, but a desire to conform himself to its rules. He was in a manner too liberal; he gave to many, and that very often; and his alacrity in giving commended the gift. And that he might spare the modesty of the receivers, he commonly gave very privately with his own hand. In a word, he was honest and plain-hearted to his friends and domestics; if any of them did amiss, he reproved them more sharply than he

did strangers. By these his manners, deportment, and innocency of life, he was dear and venerable, not only to his countrymen, but even to foreigners, especially to the English, to whom, in all the vicissitudes of providence in his life, his virtues were more known than to any other nation.

Vol. II.

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(A. C. 1571.)

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.



BOOK XX.

ALL that time, which immediately followed the death of the last regent, although it was free from bloodshed, yet was it embroiled with the various attempts of the factions. Before the murder, the Hamiltons in great numbers had met at Edinburgh, under the pretence of prevailing with the regent, to release James Hamilton, the head of their kin or tribe, who was yet kept prisoner in the castle. But after the murder was perpetrated, they sent some from amongst them, to the rest of the Hamiltons, who were to dissuade the other clans (for so they would have made people believe) from joining with, or protecting the public parricides. But, as very many suspected, it was to bid them be prepared, and ready for all occasions. For the next night after the murder, Walter Scott, and Thomas Kerr of Farnihest, entering into England, ravaged all places with fire and sword; and that with somewhat more cruelty than was used in former times. Neither was it so much the desire of booty or revenge, which moved them to this unusual cruelty, as the effect of what was long before resolved by the bishop of St. Andrews, and the rest of the heads of the faction, to incense the English against the Scots. And if they could

provoke them no other way to take up arms, then by injuries to draw them, though unwillingly, into a war. The governor of the castle, although suspected upon many accounts, so that all men's eyes and discourse were upon him, by way of reflection, as yet continued in his former counterfeited loyalty to the king. It was upon his account, that William Maitland was delivered out of prison; for when he had, in many words, pleaded his innocency before the council, the nobles then present attesting, that it did not with any certainty appear to them, that he was guilty of those crimes which were laid to his charge (for he was accused to have been privy to the king's and regent's murders, and also to be the author of the civil war that was lately raised in England) he was at last dismissed; yet so, that the matter seemed to be deferred till another time, rather than absolutely to be decided. He also, protesting his innocency upon oath, promised to appear whenever the king's relations would appoint a day for his trial. Afterwards when, upon consulting about the state of the kingdom, they had almost agreed, that of those whom the queen, before she abjured her government, had nominated tutors to the king, he that would undertake it, provided he had not afterwards revolted to the adverse faction, should have the chief administration of affairs. Maitland, now contriving the disturbance of affairs, brought it so about, that it should be again signified to the absent lords, that they might, if they pleased, be present in the parliament of the regent, to be assembled at a certain day, lest they might afterwards complain, that so great an affair was hastily huddled up in their absence. Athol, with a few others, consented; neither did the rest refuse it, that they might take away all occasion of detraction and calumny from their adversaries, rather than that they had any hopes that this delay of the parliament would bring any profit to the public.

After these things, Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, had audience. For that qucen, while the regent was yet alive, had sent her ambassadors to demand those English exiles, who, after Howard's conspiracy was detected, and he punished, for fear of punishment, had escaped thither. The regent, giving these ambassadors audience at Stirling, had referred them to the council at Edinburgh; and, after his death, things being in a great confusion, they returned home, without any answer. But when they convened about chusing a regent, Randolph (who some years before had been in Scotland) for that he was thought to be well read in the affairs, and in the men of that kingdom; and that his former embassies had been also advantageous to both nations, was in great esteem with all good men like himself. Being introduced into the council, he declared, "How great his queen's goodness will had always been towards the Scots: that as she had not

“ formerly been wanting to them in their disturbances, so she
 “ would not fail them now. Then he rehearsed their incursions
 “ into England, the slaughters, rapines, and burnings of late
 “ days committed: adding, that she knew well enough that none
 “ of these things were acted by the public council; that therefore,
 “ at present, her kindness and friendship towards them was the
 “ same it ever was. So that although she had been in the high-
 “ est manner, and, without any cause, provoked; yet she did
 “ not, as she might justly do, repeat particulars, nor publicly re-
 “ quire reparation; nor for the fault of a *few*, seek punishment
 “ of *all*; that indeed she was not ignorant what a great disturb-
 “ ance in public affairs there was of late; yet she was no ways
 “ doubtful of the good-will of honest men towards her; that, in
 “ favour of them, she did not only free the public from any guilt,
 “ but if, by reason of domestic troubles, they could not compel
 “ the disturbers of the peace to settle things, she would join her
 “ forces with theirs, that so, by common consent, they might
 “ exact punishment of those violators of leagues and truces; but
 “ if they were not able to do that, then she would revenge their
 “ injuries with her own forces; that her army should pass peace-
 “ ably through the country, without the least damage to it; that
 “ none that had not been guilty of the crimes alleged, should be
 “ involved in the punishment.”

The remaining heads of this embassy contained admonitions,
 ever profitable in all legal assemblies, but now, as the present
 posture of affairs was, very necessary, viz. “ That they should
 “ first of all, with all care and vigilance, have regard to religion,
 “ which alone teaches us our duty to God and man; that seeing no
 “ commonwealth at discord within itself can long subsist, they
 “ should bend their chiefest endeavours, and strive with their ut-
 “ most force, that at home, *among fellow subjects and countrymen*
 “ peace and concord might be religiously observed; and seeing
 “ God, the framer of the universe, had indulged them with a
 “ kingly government, it was just for them to honour and obey
 “ their kings, and to yield all observance and obedience to them.
 “ That peace, concord, and friendship with all men, as much as
 “ possible, are most acceptable to God, and quench, or at least,
 “ lessen the thirst of shedding human blood, (which wickedness
 “ God especially detests); that they increase the riches of all
 “ in general, and render a people more formidable to their
 “ enemies; that justice is the preserver of the public safety,
 “ of which the chief part now to be made use of is, the punish-
 “ ment of offenders; and since treason is most hateful to every
 “ lawful government, its abettors, to what part of the earth so-
 “ ever they retreated, should have neither mercy, favour, nor in-
 “ dulgence shewed them.”

Thus far Randolph, whose advice seemed both pious, wholesome, and reasonable. But, because none was yet chosen regent, he could not have any certain answer, and therefore was put off till the first of May. At last, William and Robert Douglas, brothers by the mother's side to the late murdered regent, petitioned, that the villanous death of their brother, suffered upon no private, but the commonwealth's account, should be revenged. Herein the opinions were various, although all agreed, that the murderers were to be punished. Some thought fit, that a day should be appointed for those suspected of the murder to appear and many of their minds were given in. Others were of opinion, that court days were not to be waited for against those who were now in arms, to maintain by force that fact which they had impiously committed; and that it was fit, not only to take up arms forthwith against them, but likewise against all those who were sentenced by the last parliament.

To this opinion the knights of the shires were most inclined; yet they could not obtain their desires, through the dissuasion chiefly of Athol, who said, they ought to expect a more numerous assembly of the nobility; and of Morton, who thought, that, should they join more crimes together, the revenge of the regent's death would miscarry, and a civil war break out; because all those who dreaded the peace, would join with the murderers; that therefore their crimes should be separated, and affairs, if possible, by law transacted, and nothing innovated before the first of May (which was the day appointed for their meeting). And so that session was dissolved; most part of the people condemning this delay of the nobility, because (said they) all things are acted as the king's enemies please, who had occasioned these delays on purpose, that thereby the odium of the murder might diminish, and the opposite faction in the mean while gain strength.

This opinion of the people was confirmed, not only by some preceding accidents, but also by very many which followed. For presently, when the regent's murder was yet hardly divulged, James Hamilton, upon a mortgage of his lands, procures money of John Somerville of Cambusnethan, which, together with another sum, borrowed of his friends, he sent to his accomplices to hire troops, having warned them before, to be ready for all attempts, because of the sudden alteration which had happened, upon their having rid themselves of their capital enemy. And, after that, the queen's party ceased not to have meetings in many and distant places. About the 15th of February, almost all the chiefs of the rebellious faction met together at Glasgow; whence Argyll and Boyd wrote to Morton, that they, because as yet they knew not who were the actors in, or privy to the regent's murder, would willingly communicate their counsel with the rest of

the nobility, as well for its discovery as punishment; but that they would not come to Edinburgh. But if the king's party would be persuaded to meet them at Linlithgow, at Falkirk, or at Stirling, they would, without delay, come thither. This being communicated to Maitland by Morton (for so the letter desired) came to nothing. About the same time, Thomas Kerr wrote to his father-in-law, the governor of the castle, from Linlithgow, that if the queen of England would be prevailed withal, to lay by her resentment of the late incursions, he would endeavour that, for the future, the borders should be quieted, and kept in due order; but if she should refuse these offers, he would continue in the design he had begun; not doubting, but that his honest countrymen, who yet retained their loyalty to their queen, would join with him, and that the French auxiliaries would likewise speedily arrive.

About the 3d of March, the Hamiltons, with Argyle and Boyd, met at Linlithgow; but the killing of one common soldier begetting a tumult, disturbed all their counsels; which made the archbishop of St. Andrews take home the Hamiltons along with him. The rest of the rebels, especially Huntly, Athol, Crawford and Ogilvy; as also those on this side Forth, Hume, Seton, and Maitland, met at Edinburgh, where Morton was accompanied but with a few, till the earls of Glencairn and Marr, with their followers, came to him. About the fourth of March, the heads of the factions met to consult about the main affair; but this consultation went but slowly on, by reason of Argyle's absence, whose power and authority was then very great. Huntly goes to him, undertaking to persuade him to join with the rest of the faction, but returns without success; by the treachery of Maitland (as most men thought) who desired to keep things at a stand, that, amidst the confusions of the kingdom, he might have the fitter opportunity for innovations. Argyle also, in all his undertakings, had another impediment, which hindered that his power was not now so great as it was formerly; which was, that though he himself was a most eager favourer of the queen's cause, yet neither his friends and dependants, nor his very brother, could be prevailed with to follow him against the king.

The ensuing night, a sudden terror, without any apparent cause, so seized upon all the factions, that they watched in their armour till it was day light; and, in the morning, as fearfully retired from Edinburgh. All the time of this convention, the chief thing controverted was, by what authority the Scots might, at that time choose a regent? Some, according to the queen's letters patent three years ago, by which she had designed eight of the nobility, that out of them one or more, as should be thought fit, might be nominated as tutors to her son, would have one of that number

placed at the helm. Others were of opinion, that those letters were now useless, since a regent was already chosen, according to their appointment; and that all thoughts of them should be laid aside, as being not made to be always in force, but for that one juncture of time only. Some there were, who would have the whole affair deferred, till the general convention of the nobility: But these were chiefly of Maitland's faction, who expected that a great distraction in affairs would follow, which, in a great multitude, without a governor, is easily raised, but not so easily laid. The third opinion condemned both these: The first, because now there ought less account to be made of the queen's letters patent, since (if the matter of law were considered) they were, from their beginning, of little or no force: The other, for that a prorogation would both draw much danger along with it, as also a greater delay than the present condition of affairs could well permit; and therefore they would have all those to meet, who at first had advised, that the king should enter upon the government, and had constantly adhered to him ever since: These, according to the sense of this party, were to take the best care they could for the public welfare, and speedily appoint such a regent, who was both able and willing to provide for the safety both of king and kingdom. But this opinion was also rejected. And thus, before any thing was concluded upon, the convention broke up.

So many meetings having been tried in vain, the rebels again return to the old seminary of the English war, thereby to draw the populace to their faction; and send out the same officers of the freebooters, as they called them, who were sent before, who left nothing of cruelty uncommitted, even to the utmost extremity. And in the mean time, the heads of their faction bespatter the queen of England with all manner of reproaches: And they maliciously accuse the Scottish nobles, as pensioners to the English, commonly giving out, in a way of threatening, that if their adversaries called in the English to their aid, they would have recourse to the French and Spaniards. About this time, Mr. Le Verac, of the king of France's bedchamber, came from France to Dumbarton, who, with his large promises, somewhat elevated their spirits. Hereupon the Hamiltons appointed a meeting of their people to be held, the 9th of April, at Linlithgow; where, when the queen's faction was gathered together in great numbers, they began openly to treat of that which they had long before meditated in their private cabals, viz. That if a war against the English could be made, private injuries and actions, either about the king's or regent's murder, in that universal disturbance of affairs, would thereby either grow out of remembrance, or at least the resentment of them would much

abate. These things having been transacted at Linlithgow, by the associates of the conspiracy only, who having not yet plainly unmasked their intentions, that they might have more shew of authority, determine to meet at Edinburgh on the 11th of April, that, besides the other conveniencies which the place would afford them, they might draw the citizens, of whom they always made great account, either way to their party. This seemed no hard matter, since they had already gained William Kirkaldy, the governor both of the city and castle, to their side: But because they understood that watch and ward was kept there, and that the common people were more inclined to their adversaries, they thought fit to send to the citizens first, to know whether it was their pleasure they should meet there? The citizens answer was, That they would exclude no person that was desirous of the public peace, and obedient to the king; but that they would admit neither the English exiles, nor the Hamiltons, into their city, lest they should either highly displease the queen of England, in whose kingdom they had great traffic, or seem to join in counsel with those that were guilty of that horrid murder; neither would they endure the proposal of any new edicts, which might tend to the lessening of the regal authority; or, that their soldiery should be forced (as the custom was) to run to their arms by sound of drum. Upon these conditions, how hard soever they seemed, they notwithstanding came into the city, in hopes, by degrees, to gain upon the unwary multitude, and, by soothing them with fair speeches, at last to win them all over to them. But, for all this, they could not prevail with the citizens to deliver up their keys, or to cease their usual watch, though Kirkaldy, governor of the castle and city, joined his utmost endeavours with them to procure all this.

All that time they visited Maitland (who, if he did not dissemble deeply, was troubled with the gout) every day, and in such numbers, that his house was commonly called a school, and he a school-master: Athol, mean while, incessantly passed from one place to another, that he might draw those of the contrary faction to this meeting at Edinburgh; but they all unanimously refused to come before May 1st, (which was the day generally agreed upon by all) unless they were satisfied of the necessity of coming before; if any thing of moment happened, which would admit of no delay, they would have them acquaint the earl of Morton with it, who was at his house but four miles off; and he would intimate it to the rest. Athol at last appoints a day, on which some of either faction should meet at Morton-hall, which is in Dalkeith; but this place did not please the queen's faction, not that they dreaded any treachery, but out of conceit, that it would be an undervaluing of their authority, if they should come

to Morton, rather than he come to them. For which reason after many attempts, and finding nothing proceeded to their satisfaction, they were forced to break up the meeting; for being desirous to rid the city of their adversaries, and seeing they could not prevail with the citizens to join with them; in order to it, they resolved to call in a greater number of their friends who lived nearest to them, that in spite of the inhabitants they might get all things into their own power. The governor of the castle facilitated this very much, who set at liberty those persons whom he had in custody, and they were almost all the heads of the queen's faction. But a sudden rumour, that the English army was come to Berwick, shook all their resolutions. Alexander Hume and John Maxwell, lately let out of prison, without any public authority, betook themselves to their own homes, to look to their domestic affairs: And Hume had part of the money gathered for raising of soldiers, given him, to fortify his own castle.

Thomas Ker, and Walter Scot, who, by the instigation chiefly of the archbishop of St. Andrews, had made incursions into England, foreseeing, that, from this beginning, a war would be kindled between the two kingdoms, being deserted by their neighbours, and doubtful of their own strength, sent to the heads of their faction for aid; or if that could not be given, that, at least, they would come as far as Lauder, (a neighbouring town), and from thence make a show of war. When in this too they could not obtain their request, nor yet the least proportion of their common money for the public use; and being highly incensed to be thus betrayed and forsaken by those very men that had put them upon the war, every one of them betakes himself to the care of his own safety, their hopes, for the time to come, being all blasted. Thus so many cross accidents unexpectedly falling out at one and the same time, entirely disturbed all their plots and machinations; but the sudden approach of the English army was what most surprised them; and therefore, to see if they could put a stop to it, they make use of two embassies into England; one to Thomas earl of Sussex, to desire a truce, till such time as they had laid open the state of their affairs to the queen of England: The other ambassador carried letters to the queen, containing many things, as well for their own cause, as against the king's faction; especially by making their boasts of greater forces than they had in reality, and vilifying those of their adversaries, thereby covertly threatening the English with a war: For Maitland had made them believe, that the queen, a woman naturally timorous, would do any thing rather than be brought to a war, at a time when both the French and Spaniards were, for many reasons, at enmity with her; and her own affairs at home

were scarce settled. The rebels desired, that by the queen's arbitrament, all the ordinances of the last two years should be called in, although many amongst them had subscribed to them; and that all things being, as it were, acted *do novo*, a new ordinance should, by a general consent, be made: And that they might the better set forth the power of their faction, their letter had all the great men's names that were of their party, subscribed to it; and for the greater ostentation of their multitude, they set to it the names of many, as well the adverse faction, as of those that were neuters; in hopes that the English (by reason of the great distance, and their ignorance of things done so far off; and that their letters to the queen would be exposed to the view but of a few persons) would hardly be able to detect their fraud.

About that time an accident happened, as they thought, very advantageous to their affairs, as hoping that it would both make the English less forward, and, at the same time, terrify the Scots populace, viz. the arrival of a certain Frenchman, however of a mean condition, who, as being Lansack's menial servant, was, for his master's sake, entertained at that court. This man brought a great many letters, all of the same purport, from the French king, not only to the heads of the queen's faction, but likewise to many who had not declared themselves for either faction; in which, great thanks were given to every one of them, for their having hitherto taken the queen's part; the king desiring them constantly to persist in so doing, and he would send them assistance, even greater than they had desired of him, as soon as ever he could do it with conveniency. He also, that brought the letters, adds, as from himself. "That all things were now quiet in France, Jasper Coligny, and the other rebels, being reduced to such terms, as to promise to leave France, lest their presence should be a hinderance to the public peace: And he doubted not, but the soldiers which were to be sent to assist them, would all be raised before his return." The wiser sort, although they knew that these things were, for the most part, nothing but vain reports, yet permitted the common sort to be deluded by them. When therefore the minds of many people were, by these means, much lifted up, their joy was lessened by the unsuccessful return of their ambassadors out of England: For Sussex could not be induced to think it would be for the English interest, to maintain an army only to idle their time away in truces, and wholly to desist from war, without any conditions offered on the part of the Scots. And the letter which they wrote to the queen being opened by Sussex (as she had commanded, to prevent the delay of waiting for her answer) discovered the fraud. For it contained nothing but

vain boasting, as the English well knew, who knew every thing that was doing in Scotland: So that their ambassadors were almost hooted away, and copies of their letter were sent to the king's party in Scotland. Being thus disappointed, and frightened by the sudden drawing near of the English army, and those who were to have assisted them, being gone to defend their own homes; having also small confidence in the citizens, and knowing that their enemies would come to Edinburgh on the 1st of May: they therefore retired from thence, and went to Linlithgow, thinking that place to be very commodious for the sending for those of their party from the most distant places of the kingdom; as also for hindering the journeys of the others that were going to the assembly; and for bringing about of those other things which were lately discussed at their consultations. From this place the Hamiltons, with their friends and vassals made the whole road leading to Edinburgh, very unsafe for passengers; and knowing that John Erskine earl of Marr, was to come that way, they placed themselves on the neighbouring hills to hinder his journey; but he knowing how the way was beset, passed the river about two miles above; and so, on April 29th, in the evening, came safe to Edinburgh. After that day, the king's party kept at Edinburgh, and the queen's at Linlithgow, mutually charging one another with the causes and rise of these civil combustions. But those at Edinburgh informed their opposites, that they were willing to come to an easy agreement upon other heads, and that, if they had done any one any wrong, they would give him just satisfaction, as indifferent arbitrators should award; provided always, that this king's authority might be secured, and that both parties might join to revenge the murder of the last king, and of the regent. To this proposal they at Linlithgow gave no satisfactory answer, but, instead thereof, made an edict, that all subjects should obey the queen's commissioners; and the three earls, Arran, Argyle, and Huntly, summoned an assembly to be held at Linlithgow, August the 3d. Whereupon the other party sent Robert Pitcairn their ambassador to the queen of England, to treat with her about suppressing the common enemy, and to shew how well affected the Scots stood towards her: He was to inform her, that they would chuse such a regent as she should please to recommend or approve.

Thus whilst each party was crossing one another's design, the English enter Teviotdale, and spoil the towns and villages belonging to the families of the Kers and of the Scots, (who had violated the peace, by making incursions into England, and giving harbour to such English fugitives as fled to them for shelter), wasting and burning their country. The earl of Sussex their

general besieged Hume castle, where the owner of it laid up much provision, and all the neighbourhood had brought in their best goods to that fort, as into a place of safety. It was valiantly defended by the garrison within, and the English, the next day after, were about to raise the siege; when letters were brought to the garrison soldiers, written a while before by Alexander, owner of the castle, which disturbed all their measures. For by these letters he commanded them to obey the orders of William Drury, an English knight, and to do what he commanded them, without any dispute. Drury acquainted Sussex herewith, whereupon the castle was surrendered and plundered, and Sussex placing in it a garrison of English, with a great booty returned to Berwick. Thus Hume, who was so far from being afraid of the English, that rather he thought them his very friends, as knowing that Drury and Sussex both did secretly favour Howard's affairs, almost ruined himself by his own incredulity; for, at last, being forsaken of all his friends and relations, who were mostly royalists, he came with one or two in his company to Edinburgh, and shut up himself, as a recluse, in the castle there.

On the other side of the borders, Scroop, an English commander, entered Annandale, and ransacked the lands of one Johnston, (who also had made incursions into England); but Johnston himself with a few of his companions, being well acquainted with the passes of the country, made a shift to escape from the horse that pursued him. John Maxwell, who had gathered together 3000 men out of the neighbourhood, yet durst not adventure to come into his aid, but only stood upon his own guard. A while after, the English that were at Berwick having received hostages and thinking that matters would have been carried with fidelity towards them, sent in 300 horse, and 1000 foot, under the command of Drury, against the common enemy. Upon the rumour of their march, the Hamiltons went to Glasgow, resolving to demolish the castle of the archbishop there, that it might not be a receptacle to the earl of Lennox, then returned out of England, and that country be made the seat of war. They knew that it was kept but by a few raw soldiers, that the governor was absent, and that it was unprovided of necessaries, so that they thought to surprise it by their sudden approach; for they flew into the town in such haste, that they shut out a good part of the garrison soldiers from entering into the castle; but being disappointed of their hopes, they began to batter and storm it with the utmost violence, and were as valiantly repulsed; for the garrison-soldiers (which were but 24) did so warmly receive them for several days, that they killed more of the assailants, than they themselves were; and the rest they beat off, very much wounded. Of their own, they lost but one man, and none of the rest received so much as a

wound. But the people of Hamilton, hearing that the English were already at Edinburgh, and that John Erskine was come to Stirling, with a design speedily to relieve the castle, though they had received some additional force, even from the remote parts of the kingdom, yet toward evening they raised their siege, and in great fear packed away. Hamilton and Argyle himself posted into Argyle's country. Huntly went home, over the almost impassable mountains; the rest shifted for themselves, and ran several ways to save their lives.

But the English, two days after they came to Edinburgh, went to Glasgow, and in their passage through Clydesdale, wasted all the lands of the Hamiltons, and any others that had consented to the death of the regent; as also of those who had harboured the English fugitives, and carried away a very great booty, making havoc in all the country; when the engines to beat down the castle, that was situated near a village called Hamilton, were bringing to Stirling. Drury, who privately favoured the English rebels, had almost rendered the whole expedition fruitless: for he was so far from quieting the English who mutinied, because their pay was not paid them at the day (whereupon they threatened immediately to lay down their arms), that it was thought by many, he himself was the author of the mutiny. But the soldiers were appeased, upon the receiving their pay down upon the nail; and the great guns being planted, and playing against it, the castle was surrendered in a few hours. Amongst the booty, some there were that knew the apparel, and other household stuff of king James V. that the owner of the castle, when he resigned up his regency, had so solemnly sworn he had none of. The castle was left half demolished; and the town, together with the stately mansion of the Hamiltons, the wild common soldiers burnt to the ground against the will of their commanders. Upon which the army marched back, the English to Berwick, and the Scots each to their own home. Drury interceded for the garrison, that they should march away in safety; who being dismissed, took Robert Semple prisoner, the chief of his family, out of the house of his son-in-law, who was quietly returning home, as if the service had been ended; which passage greatly increased the suspicion of Drury.

There matters were scarce finished, before Pitcairn returned from his embassy out of England, and brought this answer. " That the queen wondered, they never made her acquainted
" with the state of their affairs till now, four months after the
" death of the regent; and by reason of this delay, she was un-
" certain what estimate to make of them. In the mean time,
" that she had been often solicited importunately by the French
" and Spanish ambassadors in the name of their kings, and that
" she was even tired out with the daily complaints of the Scots

“ queen, that she had promised them audience; but upon condition, that the queen of Scots should write to her party for a cessation of arms, till the conference was ended. That those innovations which they had attempted by their public edicts, they should revoke by other edicts contrary to the former, and to suffer things to stand as they were, when the regent was murdered. That the English exiles should be given up without fraud; and if upon the conference, matters were accommodated between them, hostages and other pledges should be given on both sides, for the faithful performance of agreements. That upon these conditions a conference was promised, and having obliged herself to this, she could not join with them in their design of making a new regent, lest she might seem to condemn their queen without hearing her; but in general she said, that she had a great affection for them, and their welfare. In the mean time she desired, that they would abstain from arms, and from making a regent, and she would take care, that such a small delay would be no damage to them.” This answer being reported to the Scots, did variously affect them. On the other hand, the necessity of the time required them to steer their counsels so as they might be pleasing to the queen of England; and on the other, they knew of what concern it was to the public, that one chief magistrate should be set up, to whom all complaints might be made; for want of creating one some months already past, the enemy had improved the delay to gather forces, to make new courts of justice, daily to set forth new edicts, and to usurp all the offices of a king. On the other side, the royalists were dejected, and a multitude, without one certain person whom to obey, could not be long kept in obedience. After the ambassador’s return, news came that there was a new insurrection in England, and that in London the pope’s bull was fastened on the church doors to exhort the English, partly to cast off the unjust yoke of the queen’s government, and partly to return to the popish religion; and it was thought, that the hand of the queen of Scots was in all this.

Now though they knew from the earl of Sussex’s letters, that notwithstanding these things, all was quiet in England; and also, the said Thomas Randolph had, in presence, confirmed it, yet they could hardly be restrained from chusing a regent. But at last a middle way prevailed, that they might have an appearance of a chief magistrate, to set up an inter-regent, or deputy-king, to continue till the 12th of July; in which time they might be farther informed of the queen of England’s mind. They judged that she was not averse from their undertaking, especially upon this ground, that she had put it into the articles of capitulation, that they should give up all the English exiled for rebellion; for if

that were done, they understood, that the spirits of all the papists in England would be alienated from the queen of Scots. If it were denied, then the conference, or treaty, would break off, and the suspicions which made the commonalty averse, would daily increase. For they saw, that other things would not easily be agreed upon, when a greater danger threatened the English than the Scots, upon the deliverance of their queen; and if other things were accorded, yet the queen of England would never let her go, without hostages; neither was she able to give any such, who could make a sufficient warranty. These considerations gave them some encouragement, so that they proceeded to create Matthew Stewart earl of Lennox, the king's grandfather, vicegerent for the time.

Whilst this new viceroy, by the advice of his council, was busied in rectifying things, which had been disordered in the late tumults; letters came opportunely from the queen of England, July the 10th, wherein she spake much of her affection to the king and kingdom of Scotland, and freely offered them her assistance; withal she desired them to abstain from naming a regent, which was a title invidious of itself, and of no good example to them; only if they were resolved, and asked her advice, she thought none was to be preferred to that high office before the king's grandfather; none being of greater fidelity to the king, yet a minor; and who undoubtedly had the prerogative before all others. These letters encouraged them, by the joint suffrages of all the estates, of a viceroy to make him regent.

As soon as ever he was created regent, and had taken an oath, (according to custom) to observe the laws and customs of his country: first of all he commanded, that all who were able to bear arms, should appear at Linlithgow, August the 2d, to hinder the convention, which the seditious had there appointed in the name of the queen; then he himself summoned a parliament in the name of the king, to be held the 10th day of October; he also sent to the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, (who still pretended great friendship to the king's party, though his words and actions did very much disagree) to send him some brass cannon, carriages, and other things for the managing them. This he did, rather to try the governor's fidelity, than in hopes to obtain his desires. He promised very fair at first, but when the day was coming on, that the parliament was to meet, when he was desired to perform his promises he peremptorily refused, alleging, that his service should be always ready to make up an agreement between, but not to shed the blood of his countrymen.

Nevertheless the regent came, at the day appointed, to Linlithgow, with 5000 armed men in his company; but hearing that the enemy did not stir, only that Huntly had placed one

hundred and sixty soldiers at Brechin, and had sent out an order, commanding the inhabitants to get in provisions for some thousands of men, by the 2d of August: The garrison there placed by him, not only robbed the inhabitants, but waylaid all travellers, who passed the roads thereabout. Upon which the regent, by the advice of his council, resolved to march thither, and to seize on the place (which would be of great advantage to him) before Huntly could arrive at it; and if occasion offered, there to fight him, before his partners came up with their force, and so to defeat that party of musketeers, which was all he had; and, by that means, might take some of the leaders of the faction, as the earl of Crawford, James Ogilvy, and James Balfour, who he heard were there. Pursuant to this, he commanded Patrick Lindsay and William Ruthven, chief officers, and James Haliburton, governor of Dundee, to take what soldiers they could raise at Dundee and St. Johnston, and to make haste thither, to prevent the news of their coming. They made all the speed that ever they were able; the next night horsing their foot for greater expedition; however, as they drew near the place, they marched slowly, to get some refreshment before they charged the enemy; so that the alarm was taken at Brechin, that the enemy was a coming: Upon which Ogilvy and Balfour, who chanced to be there, got the soldiers presently together; and encouraging them as well as they could for the time, they told them that they and Huntly would return again in three days; and so they got on horseback, and hasted away over the mountains to their own men. The soldiers that were left, caught up what was next at hand, and about twenty of them got to the tower of a neighbouring church: The rest fled into the house of the earl of Marr, which was seated on a hill near to it, it was like a castle, and commanded the town. James Douglas earl of Morton, with eight hundred horse, went a farther march about, and came not in till the day after: The regent sent home the Lennox men and those of Renfrew, to guard their own country, if Argyle should attempt any thing against it; but he, in three days, overtook those whom he had sent before to Brechin. At the noise of his coming, the neighbouring nobility came in, so that now he mustered 7000 effective men; whereupon they who were in the church tower presently surrendered themselves. The rest having stoutly defended themselves for a few days, killing and wounding some who were unwary in their approaches, at last hearing that brass cannon were planted against them, and that Huntly had forsaken them, surrendered also at mercy to the regent. He hanged up 30 of the most obstinate, many of them having been taken and released before; the rest being very feeble he dismissed. Huntly was then about twenty miles off, endea-

vouring to gather more force, but in vain (for most men, when they had free liberty to declare themselves, abhorred so bad a cause): upon which he was forced, through fear, to provide for his own safety, and, with a small party, retired into the remote countries.

After this the regent returned to Edinburgh, to be present at the parliament there summoned; and, by their advice, to settle the present disturbances. The rebels perceiving, that, by the agreement of all the estates, there was no hope left them; especially they who were guilty of the king's murder, and of the death of the regent, dealt with the queen of England, that, because she had promised the French and Spanish ambassadors, she would hear both parties, and compose things, if she could, that therefore no new decree should be made in the mean time. This delay being obtained (for nothing was done in that assembly, only the election of the regent was confirmed) the rebels never ceased to solicit the French and Spaniards to send forces into Britain, to restore their queen; and because they affirmed, that the restitution of the pope's, or the old religion, depended on her, therefore they had recourse also to the pope, that though he were far remote, yet he might help them with money. Whereupon he sent an agent into Scotland, to inquire into the present state of things there, who giving an account, that the popish party there was very weak; and that all the rebels were not unanimous in the restoring of popery, he refused to meddle with it; but, in the mean time, he endeavoured to raise some commotion in England, by his execrations and curses hung upon church-doors by night; by his indulgencies, and by his promise of indemnity for what was past; for there he thought his faction was the strongest. The regent having appointed the parliament to be held the 25th of Jan. (for within that time he hoped to satisfy all foreign ambassadors) to compose things legally and judiciously, as well as he could, returned to Edinburgh. The rebels, having renewed the truce, by means of the queen of England, till the ambassadors of both parties had been heard before her; yet, contrary to the peace desired by themselves, were very busy to attempt alterations, encouraged (as it is thought) by the favour of the earl of Sussex, who then commanded the army of the English in Northumberland. For he, either not altogether despairing of the duke of Norfolk's affair, or else induced by the promises of the exiled queen, of whose return he had some hopes, was somewhat inclinable to the rebels; which the Scots taking notice of, were more sparing in communicating counsels with him. The winter being past in the reviving of the truce; the parliament summoned on the 25th of January was deferred till May. In the mean time, the Hamiltons having in vain suborned many men to kill the regent, at last seized upon the

tower of Paisley, driving out the garrison-soldiers, as thinking they might do it with impunity, whilst men's minds were employed in greater things. The regent appointed the earl of Morton, Robert Pitcairn, and James McGill, his ambassadors to England, to reason the affair with the ambassadors of foreign princes, and sent them away February the 5th, and he himself marched to Paisley, where he summoned in the neighbouring nobility that were of his party, and attacked the castle. Having cut off their water, the besieged were forced to surrender. Afterwards, when Gilbert Kennedy annoyed the royalists, with his plundering incursions in Carrick, he went to Ayr; and as soon as Kennedy heard of the approach of a few troops, being also afraid of his clanships, who had been always loyal to the king and his party, he gave his only brother as hostage, and appointed a day to come to Stirling, and subscribe to the capitulation agreed on. Hugh Montgomery, earl of Eglinton, and Robert Boyd, followed his example; and surrendering themselves to the regent, were by him received to favour. During all this time that the regent was quelling the seditious, and Morton was absent in his embassy in England; they that held Edinburgh castle, being freed from the fear of their enemies near at hand, ceased not to list soldiers, in order to put garrisons into the most convenient places of the city, to take away provisions which the merchants had brought to Leith, and to provide all things necessary to endure a siege, till their expected relief from foreign parts might arrive.

The regent was very much bruised by a fall from his horse, and therefore returned to Glasgow, where a common soldier came to him, and gave him some hopes of surprising Dumbarton; he had been a garrison soldier in the castle there, and his wife coming often to visit him, had been accused, and whipped for theft, by Fleming the governor. Her husband being a loving man, and judging his wife to have been wrongfully punished, went from the castle; and from that day forward, employed all his thoughts how he might do Fleming a mischief. Upon which, he breaks the business to Robert Douglas, kinsman to the regent, and promises him, that if he would assign a small party to follow him, he would shortly make him master of that castle. Robert acquainted John Cunningham with the design, who was to inquire diligently of him, how so great an attempt could be accomplished? He being a blunt rough soldier, perceiving that they startled at his proposal, because he could not well make out how to accomplish what he had promised: *Since, said he, you do not believe my words, I'll go on myself the first man in the service: if you will follow me, I will make you masters of the place; but, if your hearts fail you, then let it alone.* When this was told to the regent, though the thing itself, being in reality a great enterprise, had somewhat elevated their

spirits, and made them willing enough to have it effected, yet the author, (though they judged him trusty enough) seemed not a fit instrument to bring about so great an undertaking. Upon which, Thomas Crawford, a bold man, and a good soldier, was made acquainted with the project, and it was agreed between them, rather to try the hazard of so great fortune, than idly to neglect such an opportunity. Upon which a few days were appointed to provide ladders, and other necessities, and the design was to be put in execution the first of April, for then the truce granted to the rebels, by the mediation of the queen of England, would expire. In the mean time, no talk at all was to be made about it.

Before I declare the event of this piece of service, give me leave to tell you the nature and situation of the castle of Dumbarton. From the confluence of the rivers Clyde and Leven, there is a plain champaign of about a mile, extended to the foot of the adjoining mountains; and in the very angle where the two rivers meet, stands a rock with two heads or summits. The highest, which is to the west, has on the very top of it a watch-tower, from whence opens a large prospect to all adjacent parts. The other being lower, looks towards the east; between these, that side that turns towards the north and the fields, hath stairs ascending obliquely up the rock, cut out by art, where hardly a single man can go up at once. For the rock is very hard, and scarce yields to any iron tool; but if any part of it be broken off by force, or falls down of itself, it emits a smell far and near like sulphur. In the upper part of the castle there is a vast piece of rock, of the nature of a load-stone, but so closely cemented, and fastened to the main rock, that no manner of joining at all appears. Where the river Clyde runs by to the south, the rock, (naturally steep in other parts) is somewhat bending; and stretching out its arms on both sides, takes in some firm land, which is so inclosed, partly by the nature of the place, and partly by human industry, that, in the overthwart or transverse sides of it, it affords sufficient space for many houses; and in the river, a road for ships, very safe for the inhabitants, by playing from the castle brass ordnance, but unsafe for an enemy; and small boats may come up almost to the very castle-gate. The middle part of the rock, by which you go up, being full of buildings, makes, as it were, another castle distinct and secluded from the higher one. Besides the natural fortification of the rock, the two rivers, Leven to the west, and Clyde to the south, make a kind of trench about it. On the east side, when the tide is in, the sea washes the foot of the rock; when it is out, that place is not sandy (as usually shores are) but muddy; the fat soil being dissolved into dirt. This strand is also intercepted, and cut by many torrents of water, which tumble down from the adjacent mountain. The other

side turns towards a plain field of grass. The castle has three fountains in it always running; besides springs of running water in many other places. The ancient Britons, as Bede says, called the place Alcuith; but the Scots who were heretofore severed from the Britons by the river Leven, because that fort was built, on the borders of the Britons, called it Dunbritton, now Dumbarton. There is a little town hard by of the same name, upon the bank of the river Leven, about half a mile distant from the confluence of the rivers.

This castle was accounted impregnable; and in all foreign and civil wars was of great advantage to them that held it, and as prejudicial to their enemy. At that time John Fleming was governor of it, by commission from the banished queen; he, though he consented not to the king's father's murder, yet having not a force sufficient to defend himself against the royalists, sided with the parricides, and for four years last past, had kept up the garrison at the charge of the king of France (whom he had persuaded, that almost all the Scots had secretly confederated with the queen of England); and made his boast to him, that he held, as it were, the fetters of Scotland in his own hands; and whenever the French had leisure from other wars, if they would but send him a little assistance, he would easily clap them on, and bring all Scotland under their power: And the French king was as vain in feeding his fond humour; for he sent him some military provisions by one Monsieur Verac, whom he commanded to stay there, and to give him an account of the affairs of Scotland. Besides, the insolence of the governor was increased by the treachery of the garrison soldiers of Edinburgh castle, who had lately revolted from the king; he was also somewhat animated by the sickness of the regent, who was almost killed with a fall from his horse, and was troubled with the gout; besides; he was no less encouraged by the truce, which the queen of England had obtained for them till the end of March. These considerations made him and his garrison soldiers so secure and negligent, that they went frequently to make merry into the town, and lie there all night, as if they had been lulled at rest in the very bosom of peace.

Affairs standing in this posture, and preparation being made for the expedition, as much as the present haste would permit, John Cunningham was sent before with some horse, to stop all passengers; so that the enemy might have no intelligence of their coming. Thomas Crawford followed after with the foot; they were ordered to meet together at Dumbuck, a hill about a mile from the castle, at midnight. At that place Crawford (as he was commanded) told the soldiers what the design was they were going upon, and how they were to effect it; he shewed

them who was to lead them on, and had promised to scale the walls first; and then he, and those commanders that would be taken notice of for their courage, were to follow. The soldiers were easily persuaded to follow their leaders; and accordingly the ladders were carried, and other things, to storm the castle; and the foot a little before day, marched on towards it. The horse were commanded to stay in the same place, to expect the event. As they were approaching the castle, they met with two obstructions; one was, that the bridge over the brook that runs between the fields was broken down; the other, that a fire appearing suddenly near it, occasioned a suspicion, that the bridge was broken down on purpose to stop the enemy; and the fire kindled by the garrison soldiers, to discover and prevent the enemy's approach: But this fear was soon dispelled, by their repairing the bridge, as well as they could in such haste, and making it passable for the foot; the scouts likewise were sent out to the place where the fire was seen, and they could find no sign of any fire at all; so that in reality the fire was a mere *ignis fatuus* of a meteorous nature, like those fires which are bred in the air, and sometimes pitch on the ground, and presently vanish. But they had a greater cause of fear, lest the sky, which was clear and starry, and the approach of the day, should discover them to the centinels that watched above; but, on a sudden, the heavens were covered with a thick mist, yet so that it reached not below the middle of the rock whereon the castle stood, but the upper part was so dark, that the guards in the castle could see nothing of what was done below. But as the mist came seasonably, so there was another misfortune, which fell out very unluckily, and had almost ruined the whole design: For many ladders being necessary, in order to get up that high rock, and the first unmanageable by reason of their length, and being overladen with the weight of those who went hastily up, and not well fastened at foot, in a slippery soil, fell suddenly down with those that were upon them: That accident cast them into a great consternation for the present; but when they found that no body was hurt in the fall, they recollected their almost despairing spirits; and, as if God Almighty had favoured their design, they went on upon that dangerous attack with greater alacrity, setting the ladders up again more cautiously; and when they came to the middle of the rock, there was a place seasonably convenient where they might stand; there they found an ash shrub casually growing amongst the stones, which did them great service; for they tied ropes to it, and let them down, by which means they drew up their fellows that were left below; so that at one and the same time, some were drawn up by the ropes to the middle of the rock, and others, by setting other ladders, got up

to the top of it. But here again they met with a new and unexpected misfortune, which had almost destroyed all their measures; for one of the soldiers, as he was in the middle of the ladder, was suddenly taken with a kind of fit of an apoplexy; so that he stuck fast to the ladder, and could not be taken from it, but stopped the way to those that would follow. This danger was also overcome by the diligence and cheerfulness of the soldiers; for they tied him to the ladder, so that when he recovered out of his fit, he could not fall; and then in great silence turning the ladder, the rest easily mounted. When they came to the top of the rock, there was a wall to which they were to fix their third ladders, to get over it. Alexander Ramsay with two common soldiers, got upon it; the centinels presently spied them, gave the alarm, and cast stones at them: Alexander being assaulted with this unusual kind of battery, having neither stones to throw again, nor shield to defend himself, leaped down from the wall into the castle, and there was set upon by three of the guard; he fought it out bravely with them, till his fellow soldiers, being more solicitous for his danger than their own, leaped down after him, and presently dispatched the three centinels.

In the mean time, the rest made what haste they could, so that the wall being old, loose, and overcharged with the weight of those who made haste to get over it, fell down to the ground; and by its fall, as there was a breach made for the rest to enter, so the ruins made the descent more easy through the rock, that was very high and rugged within the castle. Upon which they entered in a body, crying out with a great noise, *For God and the king*; and often proclaimed the name of the regent; so that the guards being astonished, forgot to fight, but fled every one to shift for himself as well as he could; some kept themselves within doors, till the first brunt of the soldiers' fury was over. Fleming escaped the danger by slipping down through the oblique rock, having but one in his company, who was knocked down; but he, descending a by-way, was let out at a postern, and so got into a vessel on the river, which, by reason of the tide's being in, came up to the walls, and fled into Argyleshire. The centinels of the lower castle, and twenty-five more of the garrison soldiers, who had been drinking and whoring in the town all night, taking the alarm, never offered to fight, but fled every one which way he could. There were taken in the castle, John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews; John Fleming of Bogal; a young English gentleman, that had fled from the last insurrection in England; Verac, a Frenchman, who some time before had been sent to them with some warlike provisions, and staid there in the name of the French king, to acquaint him with the state of affairs in Scotland. Alexander, the son of William Livingston,

endeavoured to escape, by changing his habit, but was discovered and brought back. The regent being informed of the taking of the castle, before noon came thither. And first, he highly commended the soldiers, then he comforted Fleming's wife, and gave her not only her own furniture, plate, and all her household stuff, and utensils, but also assigned an estate, part of her husband's, which had long before been forfeited into the king's exchequer, to maintain herself and children: the rest of the booty was allowed the soldiers.

Having settled things thus, he had leisure to take a view of the castle; and coming to the rock by which the soldiers got up, it seemed so difficult an ascent to them all, that the soldiers themselves confessed, if they had foreseen the danger of the service, no reward whatsoever should have hired them to undertake it. Verac was accused by the merchants, that when they came into the bay of Clyde, he had robbed them in an hostile manner: upon which, many of the council were of opinion, he should have been indicted as a pirate or robber; but the empty name of an ambassador prevailed more with the regent, which he had violated by his unwarrantable conduct. However, that the injured people might be kept in some hopes (at least) of satisfaction from him, he was kept seemingly for a trial, and lodged in a house at St. Andrews, whose owner was inclined to the rebels; whence he was taken away, as it were by force, which was the thing aimed at, and then he suddenly left the kingdom. The Englishman, though many suspicions were fixed upon him, and though the commendatory letters of John Lesly, bishop of Ross, to Fleming, which was found after the castle was taken, really convicted him, yet he was sent home to England; but after he was gone, it was found, that he was suborned by the duke of Norfolk's party to poison the king of Scots: Bogal was kept prisoner.

There was one prisoner more, whom the regent most desired should have perished, and that was the archbishop of St. Andrews. He, in former times, while his brother was regent, had advised him to many cruel and covetous practices; and under the queen also he bore the blame of all miscarriages. The regent feared, if he should delay his punishment, the queen of England would intercede for him, and the archbishop's friends were in great hopes of it; and lest the straitness of time should prevent their endeavours for him, the archbishop earnestly desired he might be tried by the legal way of the country, for that would occasion some, though not much delay. But his desires were over-ruled, it being alleged, that there was no need of any new process in the archbishop's case, for it had been already judged in the parliament. Upon which, being plainly convicted as guilty of the king's murder, as also of the last regent's, he was hanged at Stirling.

There was then new evidence brought in against him; for the greatest part of it had been discovered but lately. The archbishop of St. Andrews, who lodged in the next house, when the proposition of killing the king was made to him, willingly undertook it, both by reason of old feuds between them, and also out of hopes thereby to bring the kingdom to his own family. Upon which he chuses out six or eight of the most wicked of his vassals, and commended the matter to them, giving them the keys of the king's lodgings. They then entered very silently into his chamber, and strangled him when he was asleep; and when they had so done, they carried out his body through a little gate (of which I spoke before) into an orchard adjoining to the walls; and then a sign was given to blow up the house. The discovery of this wickedness was made by John Hamilton, who was a chief actor therein, upon this occasion. He was much troubled in his mind, day and night, his conscience tormenting him for the guilt of the fact, and not only so, but, as if the contagion reached to his body too, that also was miserably pained and consumed by degrees; endeavouring all ways to ease himself, at last he remembered that there was a schoolmaster at Paisley, no bad man, who was yet a papist; to him he confesses the whole fact, and the names of those who joined with him in perpetrating the murder. The priest comforted him what he could, and put him in mind of the mercy of God; yet, because the disease had taken deeper root, than to be expiated by such remedies, within a few days he was so overwhelmed with grief, that he died. The priest was not so silent in the thing, but that some notice of it came to the king's friends. They, many months after the murder was committed, when Matthew earl of Lennox, was regent, and when Dumbarton was taken, and the bishop brought to Stirling, caused the priest to be sent for thither. He then justified what he had spoken before about the king's murder; upon which, being asked by Hamilton, How he came to know it? Whether it was revealed to him in an auricular confession? He told him, yes. Then said Hamilton, you are not ignorant of the punishment due to those, who reveal the secrets of confessions, and made no other answer to the crime. After fifteen months or more, the same priest was taken, saying mass the third time; and, as the law appointed, was led out to suffer. Then also he publicly declared all that he had before affirmed in the thing, in plainer and fuller words, which were so openly divulged, that now Hamilton's vassals fell out amongst themselves, and charged one another with the king's death.

In the mean while, the rebels had procured a little money from France, by means of the brother of him who commanded Edinburgh castle. Besides, Morton was returned from his English

embassy, and in a convention of the nobles held at Stirling, declared the effect of it in these words:

“ When we came to London, February the 20th, we were referred by the queen to seven men of her council, chosen out for that purpose; who, after much dispute between us, at last insisted upon two points; first, that we should produce the clearest and best arguments we had, to shew the reasons of those actions, which had lately passed in Scotland, that so the queen might be satisfied in the equity of them, and thereby know how to answer those who demanded a reason of them. If we could not do that, yet the queen would omit nothing which might conduce to our safety. In answer to this we gave in a memorial to them, to this effect: The crimes wherewith, at first, our king’s mother complained, that she was falsely charged with, have been so clearly proved by the earl of Murray, and his partners in the embassy, that both the queen of England, and those who were delegated by her to hear the cause, could not be ignorant of the author of the king’s murder, which was the source of all our other miseries: to repeat them again before the queen, who, we doubt not, is therein sufficiently satisfied already, we think it not necessary; and besides, we ourselves are unwillingly drawn into the trouble of renewing the memory of so great a wickedness. But they who cannot deny, that this fact was cruelly and impiously perpetrated, do yet calumniate the resignation of the kingdom, and the translation of the government from the mother to the son, as a new and intolerable thing, extorted from her by mere force. First, as for the matter of fact in punishing our princes, the old custom of our ancestors will not suffer it to be called new; neither can the moderation of the punishment make it invidious. It is not needful for us to reckon up the many kings, whom our forefathers have chastised by imprisonment, banishment, nay, death itself; much less need we confirm our practice by foreign examples, of which there are abundance in old histories. The nation of the Scots being at first free, by the common suffrage of the people, set up kings over them, conditionally, that, if need were, they might take away the government by the same suffrages that gave it: The footsteps of this law remain to this very day; for, in the neighbouring islands, and in many places of the continent too, which retain the ancient speech and customs of our forefathers to this day, the same course is yet observed in creating their magistrates. Moreover, these ceremonies which are used in the inauguration of our kings, have an express representation of this law, by which it easily appears,

“ that kingly government is nothing else but a mutual stipulation between king and people; and the same most clearly may be collected from the inoffensive tenor of the old law, which hath been observed ever since there was a king in Scotland, even unto this present time, no man having ever attempted to abrogate, abate, or diminish this law in the least. It is too long to enumerate how many kings our ancestors have divested of their kingdoms, have banished, imprisoned, put to death; neither was there ever the least mention made of the severity of this law, or the abrogating of it, nor ought there to be: For it is not of the nature of such sanctions, which are subject to the changes of time; but in the very original of mankind, it was engraven in men’s hearts, approved by the mutual consent of almost all nations, and together with nature itself was to remain inviolable and eternal; so that these laws are not subject to the empire of any man, but all men subject to the dominion and power of them. This law prescribes to us in all our actions, it is always before our eyes and minds, whether we will or no, it dwells in us: Our ancestors followed it, in repressing the violence of tyrants by armed force. It is a law not proper to the Scots only, but common to all nations and people in well instituted governments. To pass by the famous cities of Athens, Sparta, Rome, Venice, which never suffered this right to be taken from them, but with their liberty itself; even in those times, wherein oppression and tyranny were most triumphant in the Roman government; if any good man was chosen emperor, he counted it his glory to confess himself inferior to the whole body of the people, and to be subject to the law. For Trajan, when he delivered a sword to the governor of a certain city, (according to custom) is reported to say, *Use it either for me, or against me, as I shall deserve.* Even Theodosius, a good emperor in bad times, would have it left recorded amongst his sanctions and laws, as a speech worthy of an emperor, and greater than his empire itself, to confess, *That he was inferior to the laws.* Nay, the most barbarous people, who had little notion of civility, had however a sense and knowledge of this, as the history of all nations, and common observation shews. But not to insist on obsolete examples, I will produce two in our own memory: Of late, Christiern, king of Denmark, for his cruelty, was forced out of the kingdom, with all his family; a greater punishment than ever our people exacted from any of their kings; for they never punished the sins of the fathers upon their children. As for him, he was deservedly punished, after a singular manner, as the monster of his

“ age, for all kinds of wickedness. But what did the mother
“ of the emperor Charles V. do, to deserve perpetual imprison-
“ ment? She was a woman in the flower of her age, and her
“ husband died young, even in the very prime of his age; it
“ was reported, she had a mind to marry again: she was not ac-
“ cused of any crime, but of a certain allowable intemperance
“ (as the severe Catos of the age speak); and of an honourable
“ copulation, approved by the laws of God and man. If the
“ calamity of our queen be compared with Christiana of Den-
“ mark, she is not less an offender, (to say no more) but she
“ has been more moderately proceeded against and punished.
“ But if she be compared with Joan of Austria, the mother of
“ the emperor Charles, what did that poor lady do, but desire,
“ as far as lawfully she might, a pleasure allowed by the law,
“ and a remedy necessary for her age? Yet, being an innocent
“ woman, she suffered that punishment, of which our queen,
“ convicted of the highest crimes, does now complain: The mur-
“ der of her lawful husband, and her unlawful marriage with
“ a public parricide, have now the same intercessors, who, in
“ killing the king, did inflict the punishment due to wicked men
“ on the innocent. But here they remember not what exam-
“ ples of their ancestors prompt them to; neither are they mind-
“ ful of that eternal law, which our noble progenitors following,
“ even from the first beginnings of kingdoms, have thereby re-
“ strained the violence of tyrants. And, in our present case,
“ what have we done more, than trod in the steps of so many
“ kingdoms and free nations, and so bridled that arbitrariness,
“ which claimed a power above law? And yet we have not done
“ it without severity neither, as our ancestors have used in the
“ like kind; for they never would have suffered any one, who
“ had been found guilty of such a notorious crime, to escape
“ the punishment of the law. If we had imitated them, we
“ had been free from fear of danger, and also from the trouble
“ of calumniators; and this may be easily known by the demand
“ of our adversaries. How often have they accused and arraign-
“ ed us before our neighbouring princes? What nations do they
“ not solicit, and stir up against us? What do they desire by
“ this importunity? Is it only, that the controversy may be de-
“ cided by law and equity? We never refused that condition;
“ and they would never accept of it, though it was often offer-
“ ed them. What then do they desire? Even this, that we
“ should arm tyrants with public authority, who are manifestly
“ guilty of the most notorious wickedness, who are satiated with
“ the spoils of their subjects, besmeared with the blood of
“ kings, and aim at the destruction of all good men! That we

“ set them up over our lives, who are found actors in the par-
“ ricide, and very much suspected to be the designers of it,
“ without acquitting themselves in a judiciary way? And yet
“ we have gratified their request, more than the custom of our
“ country, the severity of the law, or the distribution of equal
“ justice would allow. There is nothing more frequently cele-
“ brated, nor more diligently handled by the writers of our his-
“ tory, than our punishment of evil kings. And amongst so
“ many peccant governors, who ever felt the like lenity of angry
“ subjects in inflicting punishment, as we have used in punish-
“ ing our king’s mother, though evidently guilty of the greatest
“ crime? What ruler convicted of such crime, had ever power
“ given to substitute a son, or kinsman, in his or her place? To
“ whom, in such circumstances, was the liberty ever granted,
“ to appoint what guardians they pleased to the succeeding king?
“ And, in the abjuration of the kingdom, who can complain of
“ any hard usage? A young woman unable to undergo the load
“ of government, and tossed by the storms of unsettled affairs,
“ sent letters to the nobility to free her from that rule, which
“ was as burdensome to her, as it was honourable: It was grant-
“ ed her: She desired the government might be transferred from
“ her to her son; her request was assented to: She also desired
“ to have the naming of guardians, who might rule the state till
“ her son came to be of age; it was done as she desired: And
“ that the thing might have more authority, the whole was re-
“ ferred to the estates in parliament, who voted, That all was
“ rightly done, and in good order; and they confirmed it by an
“ act, than which there cannot be a more sacred and a firmer
“ obligation. But it is alleged, that what was done in prison,
“ is to be taken, not as done willingly, but by constraint, for fear
“ of death; and so many other things which men are inforced to
“ do for fear, are wont, as they ought, to go for nothing. In-
“ deed, this excuse of fear, as sometimes it is, not without rea-
“ son, admitted by the judges, so it doth not always infer a just
“ cause for abolishing a public act once made in a suit of law.
“ If a man strike a fear into his adversary for his own advan-
“ tage, and so the plaintiff extorts more from the defendant,
“ than he could ever obtain by the equity of the law; those re-
“ medics are most rightfully and deservedly provided, against
“ such as are either terrified by compulsion, or inforced by fear,
“ to do what is prejudicial to themselves. But it is otherwise,
“ if a guilty conscience creates a fear to itself, out of an expect-
“ tation of a deserved punishment, to avoid which, the offender
“ assents to some certain conditions: This fear carries with it
“ no just cause to rescind public acts; for otherwise, the more

“ wicked a person is, so much the easier retreat he might have to
“ the sanctuary of the law; and then the remedies found out for
“ the relief of the innocent, would be transferred to indemnify
“ the guilty. And the laws themselves, the ayengers of wrongs,
“ would not be a refuge to good men, when vexed by the im-
“ probity of the bad; but an unjust shelter to the evil, when
“ they fear deserved punishment. But that fear, let it be what
“ it will, wherein has it made the condition of the queen the
“ worse? The title of royal dignity, and the administration of
“ the government, was long since taken from her by parliament;
“ and being reduced to privacy, she lived a precarious life, which
“ she owed to the people’s mercy, more than her own innocen-
“ cy: When therefore she was divested of the kingdom, what
“ did she lose by her fear? Her dominion was ended before,
“ she only cast away the empty name of ruler; and that which
“ might lawfully have been extorted from her against her will,
“ she parted with of her own accord, and so redeemed the re-
“ sidue of her life, the sentiment of her infamy, the perpetual
“ fear of imminent death, which is worse than death itself, only
“ by the laying down the shadow of a mere title and name.
“ And therefore I wonder that, on this head, no body discovers
“ the prevarication of the queen’s delegates, and of her ambas-
“ sadors. For they who desire, that what was done in prison,
“ by the queen, may be undone; ask this also, that she may be
“ restored to that place from which she complains she was e-
“ jected through fear. And what is that place, to which they
“ so earnestly desire she should be restored? She hath been re-
“ moved from governing the kingdom, and from all public ad-
“ ministration, and left to the punishment of the law. Now
“ these goodly advocates would have her restored to the neces-
“ sity of pleading for herself in a cause which is as manifest as
“ it is foul and detestable; or rather, it being already proved,
“ that she should suffer just punishment for the same. And
“ whereas, now she enjoys some ease in the compassion of her
“ relations, and, in so black an offence, is not in the worst con-
“ ditions of life, they would again cast her into the tempestuous
“ hurry of a new judgment; she having no better hope of her
“ safety, than she can gather from the condemnation of so ma-
“ ny kings, who have been called before judges to act for them-
“ selves. But because our adversaries seditiously boast, to trou-
“ ble the minds of the simple, that the majesty of good kings is
“ impaired, and their authority almost vilified, if tyrants be pu-
“ nished; let us see what weight there is in this pretence: We
“ may rather, on the contrary, judge, That there is nothing
“ more honourable for the societies and assemblies of the good,

“ than to be freed from the contagion of the bad. Whoever
“ thought that the senate of Rome incurred any guilt, by the
“ punishment of Lentulus, Cethegus, or Catiline? And Valeri-
“ us Asiaticus, when the soldiers mutinied for the killing of Ca-
“ ligula, and cried out to know, *Who was the author of a fact so*
“ *audacious?* He answered from an eminence where he stood, *I*
“ *wish I could truly say, I did it:* So much majesty there was in
“ that free speech of one private man, that the wild soldiers
“ were by it presently dissipated and quieted. When Junius
“ Brutus defeated the conspiracy made for bringing back the ty-
“ rants into the city of Rome, he did not think that his family
“ was stained by a severe execution, but that, by the blood of
“ his children, the stain was rather washed away from the Ro-
“ man nobility. Did the imprisonment of Christiern of Den-
“ mark detract any thing from the commendation of Christiern
“ the next king? Did it hinder him from being accounted the
“ best of kings in his time? For a noble mind that is support-
“ ed by its own virtue, doth neither increase by the glory, nor
“ is lessened by the infamy of another. But to let these things
“ pass, let us return to the proof of the crime. I think, we
“ have abundantly satisfied the queen’s request; her desire was,
“ that we should shew her such strengthening and convincing
“ proofs for what we have done, that she might be satisfied in
“ the justness of our cause; and also be able to inform others,
“ who desired to hear what we could say for ourselves. As for
“ the king’s murder, the author, the method, and the causes of
“ it, have been so fully declared by the earl of Murray, and his
“ associates in that embassy, that they must needs be clear to
“ the exact judgment of the queen, and those others delegated
“ by her to hear that affair. As for what is objected to us, as
“ blame-worthy, after that time, we have shewn, that it is con-
“ sentaneous to the divine law, and also to the law of nature,
“ which too is in some measure divine: Besides, it is consonant to
“ our own country laws and customs: Neither is it different from
“ the usage of other nations, who have the face of any good and
“ just government amongst them. Seeing then that our cause
“ is justified by all the interpreters of divine and human laws;
“ and that the examples of so many ages, the judgments of so
“ many people, and the punishment of tyrants do confirm it, we
“ see no such novelty nor injustice in our cause, but that the
“ queen herself might readily subscribe to it; and persuade o-
“ thers that, in this matter, they should be no otherwise opini-
“ onated of us, but that we have carried ourselves like faithful
“ subjects and good Christians.”

These were the allegations, which we thought fit to make to

justify our cause, which we committed to writing, and read them the last day of February, before those grave and learned persons, whom the queen had appointed to confer with us on that subject; and the next day, which was March the 1st, we again went in the morning to court, to learn how she relished our answer, and what judgment she made of the whole cause; but, because that day she was going to her country house at Greenwich, about three miles below London, we had no opportunity to speak with her: Then we went to the chief of the council, who at first were appointed to hear and treat with us: "They told us, " that the queen, though she had very little spare time, in regard of her journey, and other business, yet had read our memorial: But she was not yet so fully persuaded, that our cause " was so just, that she could approve it without scruple; and " therefore she desired us to go to the second thing at first proposed to us, which was, To find out some way, whereby this " dispute might be ended upon some moderate conditions." To which we replied, "That we were not sent from home with an " unbounded commission, but one circumscribed within certain " limits; so that we had no freedom to enter into any debate at " all, of what might in the least diminish the authority of our " king; and if such a liberty had been offered us, yet we should " have been unwilling to accept it, or to make use of it, if allowed us."

"Matters standing thus; the queen being at Greenwich, and " we at London, we sent some of our number to her, to know " whether she had any thing more to say to us: If not, that we " might have liberty to go home, there to consult, as well as " we could, the good of our country, and our own private concerns: And if there were any thing we might gratify her " majesty in, we were willing to show our obsequiousness and " respect; nay, that we should take more opportunity to shew " it at home, than we could have now in another's dominions. " This demand procured us a summons to appear at court the " 5th of March. When we came into the queen's presence, she mightily blamed our stiffness in maintaining our " opinion, and that we so pertinaciously shunned a dispute, or " rather a consultation, about a matter so much concerning our " security: She also added a large declaration of her mind and " will against the king, and those who maintained his cause. " We urged, that the justice of our cause had been clearly enough declared before. She answered that she was not satisfied in her mind with the examples and arguments produced by us; neither, said she, am I wholly ignorant of such disputes, as having past some of my former time in the study of " the law: But, says she, if you be fully determined to make no

“ other proposal for your king’s safety, and your own; yet I
“ would have you, at least, enter upon another conference with
“ the chief of my council, who treated with you about these
“ things before. We answered, That we were not at all so stiffly
“ wedded to our own opinions, as not to be willing to hear any
“ good expedient, that might be offered by her, or her coun-
“ sellors; but ever with this proviso, that no alteration be made
“ in the present state of the kingdom; nor any diminution at
“ all of the king’s authority: For upon these two heads, we
“ neither could, or would admit the least consultation or debate.
“ The day after, we went down again to the queen’s palace,
“ (as we agreed), and entered into a conference with her coun-
“ sellors, where many proposals were made by them to decide
“ the controversy between mother and son, concerning the title
“ to the government: We, because the reasons were many, and
“ concerning matters of such great moment on both sides, de-
“ sired that we might have them given us in writing, and time
“ allowed us to consider of things of such great consequence.
“ They were ready to do it, having first consulted the queen.
“ When we had run them all over in order, the matters propos-
“ ed seemed so difficult to us, and so derogatory to the power
“ of the king, and so exceeding the bounds of our embassy and
“ commission, that we neither would, could, nor durst touch
“ upon them. The day after, Robert Pitcairn was sent to court
“ with this answer: That such matters did belong to the deci-
“ sion of all the estates, and were not to be disputed by so small
“ a number of persons as we were. He also carried our answer
“ to them, who the day before, viz. the 9th of March, had de-
“ sired to have all in writing. He earnestly desired the queen,
“ that seeing we had executed all the points within the bounds
“ of our commission, we might have leave to return home. Ten
“ days after, we had liberty to attend the queen: The delegates
“ of the council, who, from our first coming, were appointed to
“ treat with us, were very urgent that we would yet treat with
“ them, about finding out some remedies to compose things:
“ They used many arguments to that purpose, telling us, that if
“ a war from abroad should be added to our troubles at home,
“ our labours, dangers and difficulties would be doubled, espe-
“ cially being not able to extricate ourselves by our own for-
“ ces. But we persisted in our resolution, and would hearken
“ to no model of accommodation, which lessened the king’s au-
“ thority, and so that day ended.”

The next day, which was the 20th of March, we were sent
for again to court, and being commanded to come to the queen,
she spoke to us to this purpose: “ That she and her council had

“ weighed our answers, by which she understood, that none
“ but a supreme council, or parliament of Scotland, consisting
“ of all the estates, could give a certain answer to her demands;
“ and thereupon she had found out a way how to leave the mat-
“ ter entire as she found it, and with an honest pretence too.
“ She was informed, that there was shortly to be a convention
“ of all the estates in Scotland, that we should go thither, and
“ God speed us well; and that we should there endeavour, that
“ an equal number of both factions should be chosen, to exa-
“ mine the grounds of the difference between them; and that
“ she also would send her ambassadors thither, who should join
“ their endeavours with those to promote a peace: In the mean
“ time, she desired, that the pacification might be renewed, till
“ the matter was brought to some issue. She said also, that
“ she would confer with the queen of Scots’ ambassadors, and
“ persuade them, if she could, to the same. But when it was
“ moved to them, they excused themselves, saying, that they
“ could determine nothing on that head, without consulting their
“ queen; but that they would write to her to know her pleasure
“ in the case. We pressed hard to have our convoy to return
“ as was promised us, but were desired to have a little patience,
“ till an answer was returned from the Scots queen to the bi-
“ shop of Ross, and the rest of her ambassadors, and then we
“ should have our dismissal. We urged our return still, but
“ without effect, though we told her we had nothing to do with
“ the bishop of Ross, neither was our embassy to him; we had
“ ended what we came for, and did much wonder why the bi-
“ shop of Ross should retard our journey, especially since so
“ many tumults were raised in our absence, to the great incon-
“ venience of the king’s party: But though our importunity was
“ almost exceeding the bounds of good manners, yet we could
“ not prevail; for the matter was deferred from day to day, till
“ the last of March, and then the queen returned to London.”
The things which were acted in parliament for three days after
employed the queen so much, that she had no leisure to debate
foreign matters. “ But the 4th of April she sent for us, and ex-
“ cused the delay: She told us, that our king’s mother had by
“ her letters severely chid her ambassadors for their presumptu-
“ ous confidence in descending to debate her cause after that
“ manner; and therefore, says the queen, seeing they are so a-
“ verse to peace, which I propose, I will detain you no longer;
“ but if she hereafter repent of her present sentiment (of which
“ I have some hopes) and take the course pointed out by me, I
“ do not doubt but you, for your part, will perform your duty.”

Thus we were respectfully dismissed, and the 8th day of April we began our journey towards our own country.

This account was given at Stirling, by the ambassadors, before the convention of the estates. Upon which, the care and diligence of the ambassadors were unanimously approved. Other matters they referred to the first of May, a parliament being summoned against that time. In the mean time, both parties bestir themselves, one to promote, the other to hinder the assembling of it. The wisest senators were of opinion, that the queen of England would never let the Scots queen leave her kingdom, as foreseeing how dangerous it would be to all Britain. In the interim, mention was made by somebody of demanding the Scots king, as an hostage for his mother, rather in hopes to hinder a concord, than to establish it; for she was well assured, that the Scots would never yield to it; but there were some powerful men in her council, who secretly favoured the duke of Norfolk's faction: These were desirous that the queen of Scots should be restored, and that thereby the adverse faction might, in time, be broken and diminished, that so they might obtain that point from them by necessity, which they saw they could not otherwise gain; nor did they doubt, but the matter would come to that pass, when the rebels were assisted with money, and other necessities for war from France; and the royalists had their eye only on the queen of England, who had, at the beginning, largely promised them, upon understanding the crime of the queen, that she would take a special care of the king and kingdom of Scotland. Neither could the French king well bring about his designs. He was willing the Scots queen should be restored, but not that the king should be put into English hands; and hearing how strong the Norfolk faction was, which was all for innovations, he did not despair, but that the Scots queen might, in time, escape out of prison privately, or be delivered by Howard's means. Thus stood the state of Britain at that time.

Morton, having given a laudable account of his embassy to the convention at Stirling, returned to his own house about four miles from Edinburgh: He had a company of one hundred foot, and a few horse to guard his house, and to defend himself, if the townsmen should attempt to make any excursion, till more forces might come in. In the mean time, the queen's faction were masters of the town, and set guards in all convenient places; and levelled all their designs to exclude the regent, and to hinder the parliament which was summoned to be held at Edinburgh. Upon which, Morton, as the regent had commanded, sent twenty horse and about seventy foot (for the rest had passes to go abroad for forage) to Leith, who were to make a public

proclamation there (for Edinburgh was garrisoned already) that no man should assist the rebels by land or sea, either with provisions, arms, or any other warlike furniture; they that did so, were to undergo the same punishment with them. These knowing themselves to be inferior to the town soldiers, sent their foot another way about, which was covered by a hill from the sight of the city, (commonly called Arthur's seat) and the horse passed near the walls and gates of the city, not a man of the enemy stirring out. When they had done what they were commanded to do at Leith, they had not the same fortune at their return; for the foot refused to march back the same way that they came, but returned against the will of the horse near the gates of the city, and so passed with them under the walls, with an intent to try what courage themselves were of, and their enemies too, when on a sudden, a sally was made from two of the gates. At first they fought bravely, so that those of the town were forced to retire in disorder into the town, with no great loss, it is true, yet it easily appeared that they were inferior in valour, though superior in number. The regent having nothing in readiness to attack the town, and having no time neither, by reason of the sudden sitting of the parliament, to bring any cannon thither, thought it better to desist from force, and to hold the parliament without the gate of Edinburgh: For that city being stretched out mostly in length, they, who first compassed it with a wall, left a part of it in the suburbs; yet so, that the inhabitants of that part had the full privilege of citizens, as well as those within the walls. There the convention was held, for the lawyers gave their opinion, that it was no great matter in what part soever of the city it met. In this parliament, these were declared traitors, viz. the chief of them who held out the castle, especially those, who out of consciousness of their guilt of the king's and regent's murders, had avoided trial.

The rebels being thus condemned by act of parliament (the judgment of which court is of very great authority) lest the commonality, which usually is at the beck of the nobility, should be alienated from them, they also of the number which they had there, made up a convention, such as it was. Few appeared, who had any lawful right to vote; and of them some came not to the assembly at all; some presented themselves but as spectators only, abstaining from all judiciary acts; so that having neither a just number of voices, nor being assembled either in due time or according to ancient custom; yet, that they might make shew of a lawful sufficient number, two bishops, and some others that were absent (a thing never heard of before) sent in their votes in writing, at all adventures. At this time the cas-

tle continually played with its great guns upon the place where the nobility were assembled; and though the bullets often fell amongst crowds of people, yet did they neither kill nor wound so much as one man. There was but few condemned in either convention; and both parties appointed another convention to be held in August, one at Stirling, the other at Edinburgh. When the assembly was dismissed, neither party attacked the other, so that there was a kind of truce by common consent. Upon this, the greatest part of the soldiers that were with Morton, being pressed men, slipped away to their own homes.

They who kept the town, knowing that Morton had but a small party for his guard, and being willing also to have reparation for their former ignominious repulse, they sent out two hundred and twenty musqueteers, and one hundred horse, carrying two brass field pieces along with them; intending either to burn the town of Dalkeith, where Morton then was; or, if that succeeded not, to frighten the enemy, and keep him within the town; and if they could thus put him into a fright, they intended to make their boasts of it all over the country. They shewed themselves well accoutred on a hill over against Dalkeith: Upon which, those of Dalkeith being alarmed, cried presently, *Arm, Arm.* Morton's men drew out immediately, being two hundred foot, and about sixty horse, and mounting a little on an opposite hill, and then again descending into the valley, stood over against them ready for battle: Some archers picquered and skirmished on both sides, and there was a light onset; but the rebels, who expected to find their enemies unprepared, being disappointed of their hopes, marched back in as entire a body as they could to recover the city; and thus some pressing upon others, in the eagerness of their retreat, they came to Craigmillar castle, situate almost in the mid way betwixt Edinburgh and Dalkeith. There a few of Morton's foot, which passed by the castle privately on the other side, rose from their ambush, and attacked the enemy's body, in the strait passage of the way which was between them, and so disordered their ranks, and put them to flight: They, who kept garrison in the castle of Edinburgh, perceiving from the higher ground, that their men were flying toward them, sent out eighteen horse, and thirty foot to relieve them; with this supply they charged again, and the king's horse being fewer in number by half, and not able to endure the action, fled back in as much haste as they had pursued before. The foot was in a manner useless on both sides, because of a great shower that fell suddenly from the clouds. In the pursuit of the Mortons, there were but few slain, more were wounded, and about twenty-six taken prisoners: Of the rebels there were more slain, but fewer

prisoners taken. But one accident did almost equal the loss of both parties: They which came from Edinburgh, brought with them a barrel of gunpowder, and as the soldiers, in haste and carelessly, went to take out some powder, a spark of fire fell into it, and blew it up, insomuch that the horse which carried it, James Melvil, the commander of the foot; and many other soldiers, were so scorched and burnt, that the most part of them, in a few days after, died.

Whilst these things were acting about Edinburgh, victory inclining to neither side, one troop of the Scots, who, some years before, had served in Denmark, under Michael Weems, a noble, virtuous, and learned young man, returned into their own country, and offered their service to the king, against the desires of the townsmen, who would willingly have drawn them over to their party. They had a little time allowed them to visit their friends; and coming together at the day appointed, they were informed, that some ships were manned out by the rebels to intercept them. Morton himself was aware of the design, and therefore taking what force he could on a sudden get ready, without acquainting any body with his design, he came so suddenly to Leith, that he had almost taken them before they went a ship-board; sixteen of them who did not make such haste to launch out their boat he took prisoners on the shore. The next day he provided ships, either to follow them (he could not do it sooner because of the tide) or to intercept them in their return. The regent also was made acquainted with it the same night, who speedily gathering some irregular troops, hastened to the left shore of the Forth, to set upon the rebels when they landed: But the speed of the Danish soldiers rendered those endeavours needless; for the greatest part of them got aboard a large vessel, and so passed safely over. The rest, who were in a smaller skiff, were taken far from Leith, and being about twenty-six were carried prisoners to the castle. After this action, the regent returned to Stirling: Morton, being wearied with labour and watching, and seized with the cholic, was confined to his bed at Leith. Drury the Englishman, who had treated a truce between the factions for many days, could in the end effect nothing; for the regent would yield to no other terms, but that the places which were seized on, during the former truce, should be restored. When Drury was about to depart, the rebels, as it were in respect and compliment to him, drew out all the strength that ever they could make, supposing that whilst Morton was sick, they should either put their enemies into a terrible fright, who were inferior in number to themselves; or else, if they durst fight with the force they had without their general, they might do some

considerable execution upon them toward the ending of the war.

Morton being informed of this by his horse-guard, rose presently out of his bed, and buckling on his armour, brought up all his men into a neighbouring hill, where he kept them ready for the attack, about four hundred paces from the enemy. Drury rode between both armies, and earnestly desired them to return home, and not to break off all hope of accommodation, by over rash and hasty counsels: Upon which they both agreed to retreat, only the dispute was, who should do it first. Drury endeavoured to compound this difference also, and desired of both, that when he, standing in the middle between both armies, gave a sign, they should both retreat in one and the same moment. Morton was willing; but the rebels threatened, that unless he retreated first of his own accord, they would beat him shamefully out of the field: and indeed they could hardly be kept from advancing towards him.

When Morton heard this answer, he supposed he had satisfied Drury and the English, whom at this time he was unwilling to offend, but would rather have them witnesses of his moderation; whereupon he presently drew forth against the enemy: First, his horse made a brisk charge, and routed the enemy's wings, their foot attempted to charge him, but were routed also; when the gate of the next street being narrow, could not admit of many at once in their hasty flight, many were there slain, many trodden under foot; great numbers taken, none making any resistance, but only a party of foot, who having the advantage of the next church-yard, rallied again; and yet, at the first charge were a second time put to flight. Their flight into the city was so confused, that the guards left the gates, and all fled into the castle; so that if the pursuers had not been intent on their booty, they might have taken the town, as being unguarded. Above fifty of the rebels were killed, and about one hundred and fifty taken. Alexander Hume had a slight wound with a fall from his horse, and was taken prisoner: Gavin Hamilton was killed: James Cullen, Huntly's kinsman, a commander of foot, hid himself in a poor woman's pantry, but was discovered, and brought to Leith. The common people, when they saw him, made such a shout, that it plainly appeared they would not be satisfied, but by his death; for in the former civil wars, he had been a cruel and rapacious plunderer. He was infamous in his military employment, in France; and when the kings of Denmark and Sweden were at difference, he promised to serve them both, and accordingly took their money to raise soldiers, but cheated them in turn. Many such villanous things he had done; and being

thus taken at last (as I said) to the great joy of all, was led forth to his execution.

After a few day's rest, the townsmen recruited their forces, and then shewed themselves again in arms; after that, light skirmishes passed between the parties almost every day, with various events. The king's party were more courageous, but the rebels had places more convenient for ambushes; and besides, they had a high castle, from whence they might see all the motions of their enemies; neither would they commonly venture any further on an action, than their ordnance out of the castle could command. The regent kept himself at Leith, watching all their sallies, and stopping all provisions by sea; for he could not do it by land, by reason of the largeness of the city, and unevenness of the adjacent places, in the surrounding of which many opportunities of service were lost. Whilst these things were acting about the city, a French ship was taken, that brought gun powder, iron bullets, small brass guns, and some money for the rebels. The money went to pay the king's soldiers, but the bullets, powder, and part of the cannon, being sent with little or no guard to Stirling up the river, the rebels, having intelligence of it, procured some vessels from other havens, and surprised them; but not being able to carry their booty to the castle, they sunk it in the river. About the same time another small ship was also taken, in which there was little else but letters and large promises of assistance, speedily to be sent from France. For during the two whole years last past, in which there was war by turns in Scotland, the queen of England, on behalf of the royalists, the king of France, and the English papists, on behalf of the rebels, sent in some small sums of money, but loaded them with more promises, as rather studying, that their respective party might be conquered, than conquer. Both of them were willing matters should be brought to that necessity; the English queen, that the Scots, being worn out by their divisions, might be willing to send their king into England, and to seem to depend wholly on her; the French king, that the rebels might surrender Dumbarton and Edinburgh to him, and that thus by these two commanding garrisons from both seas, he might keep the Scots always in fear of his arms. But despairing of the queen's liberty, and Dumbarton castle being lost, he moved but slowly in the cause of the rebels; he was not willing, now the kingdom was exhausted with domestic seditions, to undertake a new and unnecessary war, for the sake of one castle only; it was enough, he thought at present, if it did not fall into the enemy's hands.

The Scots were fully resolved not to give up their king to the

English, upon the account of old controversies; as also, because the English papists were so strong, who placed all their hopes in his death. For if he were taken out of the way, the queen of England would not only be weakened, seeing it was one royal life only that delayed their hopes; but also the queen of Scots would be the undoubted heir of the whole island, who, by her marriage, might gratify whom she pleased with the regal power, and so be of mighty moment in the change of the state of religion through all Europe. And in the English court there were some no mean persons, who preferred the hopes of new masters before old benefits; yet if, as long as the king of Scots was alive, they should cut off Elizabeth, many of those of the queen's privy council feared, lest the known wickedness of the Scots queen might diminish her authority, and increase her son's power, and so, for fear of tyranny, endear him more to the English. Whereupon the English rebels were willing to destroy the queen of England, and king of Scots both; and not succeeding in doing it openly, they resolved upon poison.

Matters standing thus in Scotland, both factions prepared themselves against the approaching sitting of the parliament. The rebels had only three of the lords voting with them, of which two were the procurators, or commissioners to the convention, to be held in the queen's name, the third, Alexander Hume, was the only man who had right to vote. And of the ecclesiastical order, two bishops, the one banished thither two months before, by the regent: and, the state of the city being changed; not daring to depart without a convoy, he staid there against his will. The other was a bankrupt, who having spent his estate, was driven thither by necessity. By their votes, above two hundred were condemned, some of them being children under age. Besides, the impertinence of the soldiers, as if they had already got the victory, divided other men's patrimonies among themselves, and so put many quiet and innocent persons (and, by that means, more liable to injuries) into the roll of those that had forfeited.

The regent went to Stirling in a great concourse of nobility, where he held a parliament; in which, about thirty of the most obstinate of the queen's party were condemned, the rest were spared in hopes of pardon. The rebels thought this a fit opportunity for them to attempt something in the absence of the nobility; and accordingly they drew all their forces out of the city, and to make a greater shew, the townsmen with them; they set them in battle array, that so, as in former times, by light skirmishes, they might draw the king's forces out of Leith. In the mean time, while the enemy were kept in play by them, they resolved to send others

privately to march about, and when the garrison was drawn out, to enter in at the opposite gate, and so burn the town. Patrick Lindsay was governor of Leith, a wise and valiant person; he drew out his forces, having sufficiently provided against ambuscades, and marched directly towards the enemy. They fought stoutly at first; at last he gave the rebels a round salvo, and so beat them back, not without slaughter, to the gates of the town; a great many prisoners were brought off, but the most part of them were townsmen. Alexander Hume was taken once, but rescued again by his own party. In the evening, as the king's party were returning joyful for the victory, James Haliburton, a good man, and a skilful soldier, who commanded all the foot, being too far from his company, was taken by some horse in the dusk of the evening, when he could not discern of whose party they were in the high way, and so carried prisoner into the city. Upon this loss, the rebels took heart to make another attempt, more full of danger and boldness, and more likely, if it had succeeded, to have put an end to the whole war. For having received intelligence by their spies, that the nobility of the contrary faction at Stirling, were so careless and remiss, that in an open town, they had not so much as a night-guard, as if it had been a time of profound peace, they took 300 foot, and 200 horse, and marched thither. To ease the foot, who were hastily called forth, they took away all the countrymen's horses, who came to market the day before; and if occasionally they lighted on any other horses by the way, they took them too. The captains in this expedition, were George Gordon, Claud Hamilton, and Walter Scot; they were much encouraged to the undertaking by George Bell, an ensign of a foot company, who was born at Stirling; he knew all the convenient passages and accesses into the town, and was acquainted with all the noblemen's lodgings; he gave them assured hopes, that they would quickly master all, insomuch that they were so confident of success in their march, as to appoint whom to kill, and whom to save alive. They came to the town early in the morning, and found things in profound security, not so much as a dog opened his mouth against them; so that they silently entered the town, and without any resistance went up to the market place. They set guards at all the passes, and then went to the noblemen's lodgings; the rest were easily taken, only James Douglas, earl of Morton, put some stop to them in his lodging; when they could not break in upon him by force, they set fire to the house; one or two of his servants, who stoutly defended the passes, were killed; and he himself, when all was a fire, hardly escaping out of the flames, surrendered himself to Walter Scot, his kinsman, who came up with him. At the same moment the regent, being poorly guarded; and forced to fight for himself,

was taken prisoner. Alexander earl of Glencairn, and Hugh earl of Eglinton, were reserved under a guard for execution. For Claud Hamilton told his men, *They should kill all the noblemen of the contrary faction as soon as ever they passed out of the gates, without any distinction.* All things thus succeeding beyond expectation, the common soldiers scattered themselves all over the town to get plunder. Upon this, John Erskine, governor of the castle, who had before tried to break through the enemy in the market place, but in vain, they were so strongly posted, sent a party of musqueteers into his own new house, which was then building, and not quite finished, from whence there was a prospect into the whole market place. This house, because it was uninhabited, and not completed, was neglected by the enemy, and afforded a safe post to the royalists, whence to play on their enemies: When the rebels saw that they were shot at from a high place, garrisoned against them with unusual weapons, they presently turned their backs, and ran away in such fear, that, when they came to the narrow way leading to the gate, they trode down one another. That which saved them was, there were but few to pursue; for they who had driven them out of the market place, could come out but one by one through the gate of the new house, which had but one, and that half shut too towards the town; and but a few came forth from other houses, where they stood armed, ready for all events. Thus the whole soldiery, which, the day before, had attempted so desperate a piece of service, and had almost successfully finished it, were driven out of the town in such fear and confusion, that they left their prisoners, and every one shifted for himself. In all this tumult, there was only one man of note of the king's party killed, and that was George Ruthven, a young gentleman of great hopes, who pressing too eagerly upon the thickest of his enemies, lost his life. And Alexander Stuart of Garlice, as he was leading away prisoner, was struck down dead, it is not known, whether by his own men, or the enemy.

In this great consternation, they who before kept within their own doors for fear, came now abroad. They who had taken James Douglas and Alexander Cunningham, prisoners, seeing no hopes to escape, surrendered themselves up to their captives. David Spence captain of horse amongst the rebels, was leading way the regent; he knew that many lay in wait for the regent's life, and therefore he defended him with all the care he could; insomuch that when the ruffians aimed at the regent, they hit him, and he died the same day, to the great grief of both parties; for he was an accomplished young gentleman in every respect both in body and mind, and inferior to no man of his age

in Scotland. After his decease, the enemy's horse, never did any memorable service. Two of those that assaulted the regent contrary to quarter, were put to death, not being able to escape: The rest fled in such fear, that the prisoners whom they had taken, escaped out of their hands. For certain, all the enemy's party might have been destroyed, if there had been horse sufficient to have pursued: But the torries of Teyiotdale, at their first entrance into the town, had plundered all the horses, which saved them. The slain of both sides were almost equal: Of the royalists, not a man was carried away prisoner; of the other side many; most of whom being intent on plunder, were taken in the houses of which they were a riffling. The regent died the same day of his wounds. His funeral was celebrated in haste, as well as they could in such an hurry; and then the nobility assembled, to create another regent to succeed him. They chose out three of their own number, having first given them an oath, to stand to the decision of the nobility; and thus, as candidates, they were to expect the issue of the next assembly. The three were, Gillespy Campbell, earl of Argyle; James Douglas, earl of Morton; and John Erskine, earl of Marr. All the votes favoured John Erskine. His first attempt was to attack Edinburgh, there having been an army appointed to be levied by the former regent against the first of October: But this sudden change of affairs made it to be deferred till the 15th of the same month; that delay was a great hindrance to business; for it gave space to the townsmen, who wrought night and day, to perfect their work; so that the early winter, the long nights, the bad weather, in those cold countries, the difficulty of conveying provisions, and his want of military accommodations, caused him to return, without carrying the place.

For some months after, sallies were made, but of no great advantage to either side: For the prospect of the castle being free and open to all parts, gave opportunity to the rebels, that they would never come to action, nor yet fall into any ambush; for, by a signal given from an eminence in the castle, they were easily warned to retreat in time; yet once, when all the horse and foot sallied out of the town, to intercept a few of the royalists, and they pressed upon them, who pretended hastily to fly away; when they in the castle saw the colours of some companies start up from a neighbouring valley, they presently sounded a retreat to them. Upon which, the rebels, before they came to the place of ambush, retreated back in great fear, and their flight was so much the more confused, because, though they were advised of their danger beforehand, yet they did not know what, or from whence it was, nor could they so much as suspect it: Those few

horsemen, who before made semblance of flight, pressed upon their rear in such a manner, that they caused the foot to break their ranks, and every one ran to the city as fast as ever he could; many were wounded and taken, amongst them, some captains and cornets of horse.

Whilst matters were thus slowly carried on about the city, in the country towards the north there was a great loss received upon this occasion: There were two families of chief power and authority in those parts, the Gordons and the Forbeses; the Gordons lived in great concord amongst themselves, and by the king's commission, had for many years presided over some neighbouring counties, and so increased their ancient power and authority: On the other side, the Forbeses were always at difference, and continually weakened one another; but neither of them had now, for many years, made any attempt upon the other, as being mutually allied by marriages, there being rather a secret emulation, than an open breach. In the family of the Forbeses, there was one Arthur, a man of sense and very active, and who, from the beginning of the troublesome times, had always been on the king's side: He thought it was now time for him to set up his own name and his family's, as also to advance the power of the party which he followed. He first then endeavoured to reconcile his own family; which if he could accomplish, he feared not any power that could be raised against him in those parts. When a day was appointed for that purpose, Adam Gordon, brother to the earl of Huntly, by all means endeavoured to hinder it, and for that end, giving private notice to his friends and vassals, there came a great number of them to the place. There were two troops of the Forbeses in sight, but, before they could join, he set upon one of them, and killed Arthur upon the spot; at his fall, the rest were scattered and put to flight; some eminent men were killed, and many taken; the rest, for some days after dared not stir, for fear those of their party who were taken prisoners, should suffer for it. And their fear was increased by the burning of Alexander Forbes's house, with his wife great with child, his children and servants in it. Arthur Forbes's elder brother, chief of the clan, after his house was taken and plundered, hardly escaped, and came to court; where though they were much straitened themselves, yet were there two hundred foot granted to him, and to the nobility that followed his party; and withal letters were written to the neighbouring nobility to join with him.

When they were thus joined with the rest of the Forbeses, and some neighbouring families, they thought themselves secure enough from force, but they wanted a commander over them; for

the heads of the families were mostly young men, and there was scarce one more eminent than another amongst them. So that being unresolved in their counsels, John Keith, with 500 horse, went home to his own house which was not far distant. Alexander Forbes, and his vassals, with 200 foot, marched to Aberdeen to drive thence Adam Gordon, and to refresh his men after their march. Adam receiving intelligence that his enemy was advancing with but a small party, draws his men out of the town, and to make a shew of a greater multitude, compelled the townsmen to draw out with them, upon which ensued a sharp action in the field near the town. The king's foot, out of eagerness to fight, followed the Gordons too far, and having no gunpowder nor reserves, were repulsed and put to flight, principally by the archers; there were not many of them killed, because much of the action was in the dark night, but several were taken, and amongst them, Alexander Forbes, after he had stoutly defended himself against them a long time.

This success in the north mightily encouraged the rebels to attempt greater matters. Upon which, in a different part of the kingdom, they resolved to attack Jedburgh, a small town, and, as the country custom then was, unfortified; but the inhabitants were brave, and, for some years past, had always stoutly resisted the rebels. Thomas Ker of Farnihest, and Walter Scot, lived near the town; they, besides their old clans, which were numerous enough, had associated to them the three neighbouring counties, Liddisdale, Ewesdale, and Eskdale, places always notorious for robbery; but then, in regard of the licentiousness of the civil war, they pillaged without controul a great way farther. And besides, in Teviotdale itself, there were some great families noted for those practices, either being infected by their neighbours, or because they had been accustomed to plunder their enemy's country: Nor did these only come in, but some of the neighbouring English, in hopes of booty, joined themselves with them; besides this, they sent for one hundred and twenty musqueteers from Edinburgh, all picked men out of every company of the foot. The people of Jedburgh knew that they were aimed at, and therefore sent in haste to the regent, to acquaint him with their danger; and only desired a few light harnessed soldiers from him: In the mean time, they were not wanting to do their best. They sent for Walter Ker of Cesford, and levied a reasonable number of soldiers out of the neighbourhood, and fortified their town as the time would permit.

Both parties were also informed at the same time, that William Ruthven was come as far as Driburgh, with 120 musqueteers and horsemen, part of which he had brought with him, and part he

raised in the neighbouring county of March. But the rebels, being confident of their number, as being 3000 men, marched to the town early in the morning, to prevent the coming in of their relief. Ruthven suspected they would do so, and therefore marched speedily after them, and made some attempts upon their rear. And Walter Ker joined his forces with the townsmen, and drew out directly towards the enemy; who seeing this, that they might not be surrounded, presently retreated to places of greater advantage. The robbers, who came in for hopes of plunder, seeing the town fortified, and the royalists ready for action, went home the nearest way they could; and the rebels, with their vassals, and a company of foot, retreated to Hawick, never thinking that the enemy would, in the least, attempt any thing against them there; and their hopes were increased by the winter-season, which was sharper than ordinary, by reason of a great quantity of snow lately fallen, that covered all the ground. But Ruthven intended to make use of the opportunity, and in the third watch drew out his party, and marched so suddenly towards Hawick, that he was within a mile of it before the enemy took the alarm. At Hawick they were so surprised, that there was no room for counsel left, but horse and foot were immediately drawn out, and following the current of the next river, endeavoured to retreat to a place of more safety. But the swiftness of their pursuers prevented them; the horse knew the country, and made a shift to escape, but the foot were left a prey to their enemies; they possessed themselves of a small wood on a rock near the river, where they were surrounded by the horse, and not venturing to stay till the foot came up, they all surrendered themselves at mercy. But there being other dangers to be prevented, and seeing that they could not be carried up and down in so sharp a winter, having passed their words to return at a day appointed, and, leaving some hostages for that purpose, they were sent home without their arms. When they were discharged, Kircaldy made several weak pretences to elude their promises, which however hindered them from returning at the time appointed.

The rest of the winter, and the following spring, was wholly taken up in light skirmishes, in which few were killed, but more of the rebels than royalists; for the rebels, when they saw an advantage, would draw out on the hills near the city, and before they had scarce begun a skirmish, would frequently retire into the city. In the mean while frequent embassies came in from England, to reconcile the factions, but without effect; for the queen of England, though she most favoured the king's party, yet she was willing to make such a peace, as might engage both parties to her; but the French were wholly inclined to the queen's cause,

and therefore, by large promises, hindered peace, and advised a continuance of the war. Some money they sent at present, but not enough for the occasion, but only to feed hopes; and a great part of what was sent was always fingered by those who brought it.

In the mean time light skirmishes passed for some months between the parties, but not at all contributing to the main affair. Neither were other parts of the kingdom free from burning and plundering. Adam Gordon gathered a party together, and entering Angus, besieged Douglas's house of Glenbervy; and, finding that himself was absent, they miserably burnt and destroyed all that was there, which struck such a terror into those of Dundee, that they called in the garrisons from the adjoining parts of Fife to their assistance; for Gordon would give them no quarter, as having been in a particular manner ever true to the king's cause. About this time Blackness was betrayed by its governor to the Hamiltons, which is a castle that hinders commerce between Leith and Stirling. The regent broke down all the mills about Edinburgh, garrisoned all the noblemen's houses about it, and stopped all passages into the city; many prisoners were taken on both sides. Archibald Douglas, one of Morton's familiar friends, was apprehended on suspicion; which was increased by the baseness of his former life, as also by some letters found about him; and, even after he was taken, he corresponded by letters with the enemy; which evidently shewed that he had assisted the rebels, both by advice and actions, having transmitted to them both money and arms.



THE
G E N E A L O G Y
OF ALL THE
K I N G S
OF
S C O T L A N D ;

DECLARING

What year of the WORLD, and of CHRIST, they began to
Reign; how long they Reigned, and what Qualities they
were of.

THE
G E N E A L O G Y
OF ALL THE
K I N G S
OF
S C O T L A N D.

[N. B. *The numbers within parentheses in the following genealogy, refer to the pages of the foregoing history, where every king's reign is to be found.*

I. FERGUS, (p. 108.)

THE first king of Scotland, the son of Ferchard, a prince of Ireland, began to reign in the year of the world 3641; before the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ 330 years: In the first year of the 12th Olympiad, and in the 421st year of the building of Rome: About the beginning of the 3d monarchy of the

Grecians, when Alexander the Great overthrew Darius Codomanus, the last monarch of Persia. He was a valiant prince, and died by shipwreck, upon the sea coast of Ireland, near unto Carrickfergus, in the 25th year of his reign.

2. FERITHARIS, (p. 111.)

Brother to Fergus, began to reign in the year of the world 3666; in the year before the coming of Christ 305. He was a good justiciar. In his time there was a law made, That if the sons of the king departed, were so young, that they could not rule, that then, in that case, the nearest in blood should reign, being in age sufficient for government; and then, after his death, the king's children should succeed: Which law continued unto Kenneth III. his days, 1025 years almost. He was slain by the means of Ferlegus, Fergus his brother's son, in the 15th year of his reign.

3. MAINUS, (p. 112.)

King Fergus's son, succeeded to his father's brother in the year of the world 3681, and in the year before the coming of Christ 290. He was a wise and good king, and married the king of the Picts daughter, who did bear him two sons. He died peaceably in the 29th year of his reign.

4. DORNADILLA, (p. 113.)

Succeeded to his father Mainus, in the year of the world 3710; in the year before the coming of Christ 261. A good

king: He made the first laws concerning hunting. He had two sons, and died peaceably in the 28th year of his reign.

5. NOTHATUS, (p. 113.)

Succeeded to his brother Dornadilla in the year of the world 3738; and the year before the coming of Christ 233. He was a greedy and a cruel tyrant. He was slain by Dovalus, one of his nobles, in the 20th year of his reign.

6. REUTHERUS, (p. 113.)

Dornadilla his son, began to reign, in the year of the world 3758; in the year before the coming of Christ 213. He was a good king, and died peaceably in the 26th year of his reign.

7. REUTHA, (p. 115.)

Succeeded to his brother Reutherus, in the year of the world 3784; in the year before the coming of Christ 187. A good king. He of his own accord left the kingdom, and lived a private life, when he had ruled fourteen years.

8. THEREUS, (p. 115.)

Reutherus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 3798; in the year before Christ 173. He was an unwise and cruel tyrant. He was expelled and banished the realm, in the 12th year of his reign, by his nobles: And Conanus, a wise grave man, was made governor of the land. He died in exile in the city of York.

9. JOSINA, (p. 116.)

Succeeded to his brother Thereus, in the year of the world 3810; in the year before Christ 161. He was a quiet and good prince, a good medicinar and herbister, or skilful in physic and the nature of herbs. He died in peace in the 24th year of his reign.

10. FINNANUS, (p. 116.)

Josina his son, began to reign in the year of the world 3834; in the year before Christ 137. A good king. He was much given to the superstitious religion of the druids. He died in peace in the 30th year of his reign.

11. DURSTUS, (p. 116.)

Finnanus's son, succeeded to his father in the year of the world 3864; in the year before Christ 107. A cruel and traitorous tyrant, slain by his nobles in battle, in the 9th year of his reign.

12. EVENUS I. (p. 117.)

Succeeded to his brother Durstus, in the year of the world 3873; in the year before the coming of Christ 98. A wise, just, and virtuous prince. He died peaceably in the 19th year of his reign.

13. GILLUS, (p. 118.)

Evenus's bastard son, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 3892; in the year before Christ 79. A crafty tyrant, slain in battle by Cadallus, in the 2d year of his reign.

14. EVENUS II. (p. 120.)

Donallus's son, king Finnanus's brother, began to reign in the year of the world 3894; in the year before the coming of Christ 77. A good and civil king. He died in peace, in the 17th year of his reign.

15. EDERUS, (p. 121.)

Son to Dochamus, that was son to Durstus, the 11th king, began to reign in the year of the world 3911; in the year before the coming of Christ 60. A wise, valiant, and good prince. He died in the 48th year of his reign.

16. EVENUS III. (p. 121.)

Succeeded to his father Ederus, in the year of the world 3959; in the year before the coming of Christ 12. A luxurious and covetous wicked king. He was taken by his nobles, and imprisoned, and died in prison in the 7th year of his reign.

17. METELLANUS, (p. 122.)

Ederus's brother's son, began to reign in the year of the world 3966, five years before Christ's incarnation. A very good and modest king. He died in the 39th year of his reign. In his time there was peace both at home and abroad, and our Saviour Jesus Christ was born, and suffered death in his reign.

18. CARATACUS, (p. 122.)

The son of Cadallanus and of Eropeia, who was sister to Metellanus, began to reign in the year of the world 4005; in the year after the birth of Christ 34. He was a wise and valiant king, and reigned 20 years.

19. CORBRED I. (p. 123.)

Succeeded to his brother Caratacus, in the year of the world 4025; in the year of Christ 54. A wise king, and a good justiciar, or executor of justice. He died in peace in the 18th year of his reign.

20. DARDANUS, (p. 123.)

Nephew to Metellanus, began to reign in the year of the world 4043; in the year of Christ 72. A cruel tyrant. He was taken in battle, and beheaded by his own subjects, in the 4th year of his reign.

21. CORBRED II. (p. 124.)

Surnamed Galdus, son to the former Corbred, began to reign in the year of the world 4047; in the year of Christ 76. A valiant and worthy king; for he had many wars with the Romans, and was often victorious over them. He died in peace in the 35th year of his reign.

22. LUCTACUS, (p. 126.)

Succeeded to his father Corbred II. in the year of the world 4082; in the year of Christ 111. A lecherous bloody tyrant. He was slain by his nobles in the 3d year of his reign.

23. MOGALDUS, (p. 127.)

Son to the sister of Corbred II. He began to reign in the year of the world 4085; in the year of Christ 114. A good king, and victorious in the beginning of his reign: but in the end of his life became inclined to tyranny, lechery and covetousness, and was slain by his nobles in the 36th year of his reign.

24. CONARUS, (p. 128.)

Succeeded to his father Mogaldus, in the year of the world 4121; in the year of Christ 150. A lecherous tyrant. He was imprisoned by his nobles, and died in prison in the 14th

year of his reign, and Argadus a nobleman was made governor.

25. ETHODIUS I. (p. 131.)

Son to the sister of Mogaldus, began to reign in the year of the world 4135; in the year of Christ 164. He was a good prince. He was slain by an Irish harper, whom he admitted to lie in his chamber, in the 33d year of his reign.

26. SATRAEL, (p. 132.)

Succeeded to his brother Ethodius I. in the year of the world 4168; in the year of Christ 197. A cruel tyrant. He was slain by his own courtiers in the 4th year of his reign.

27. DONALD I. (p. 132.)

The first Christian king of Scotland, succeeded to his brother Satrael, in the year of the world 4172; in the year of Christ 201. A good and religious king. He was the first of the kings of Scotland that coined money of gold and silver. He died in the 18th year of his reign.

28. ETHODIUS II. (p. 134.)

Son to Ethodius I. began to reign in the year of the world 4190; in the year of Christ 219. An unwise and base minded king, governed by his nobles. He was slain by his own guard in the 16th year of his reign.

29. ATHIRCO, (p. 135.)

Succeeded to his father Ethodius II. in the year of the world 4206; in the year of Christ 235. A valiant prince in the beginning; but he degenerated, and became vicious: and being hardly pursued by his nobles for his wicked life, slew himself in the 12th year of his reign.

30. NATHALOCUS, (p. 135.)

As some write, son to the brother of Athirco, began to reign in the year of the world 4218; in the year of Christ 247. A cruel tyrant, slain by his nobles, and cast away into a privy, in the 11th year of his reign.

31. FINDOCHUS, (p. 136.)

Son of Athirco, began to reign in the year of the world 4229; in the year of Christ 258. A good king and valiant, slain by feigned hunters, at the instigation of Donald, lord of the isles, his brother, in the 11th year of his reign.

32. DONALD II. (p. 138.)

Succeeded to his brother Findochus, in the year of the world 4239; in the year of Christ 269. A good prince. He was wounded in battle, and being overcome, died for grief and sorrow in the 1st year of his reign.

33. DONALD III. (p. 138.)

Lord of the isles, brother to Findochus, began to reign in the year of the world 4240; in the year of Christ 270. A cruel tyrant, slain by Crathilinthus his successor, in the 12th year of his reign.

34. CRATHILINTHUS, (p. 139.)

Findochus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4252; in the year of Christ 282. A valiant and a godly king. He purged the land from the idolatrous superstition of the druids, and planted the sincere Christian religion. He died in peace in the 24th year of his reign. In his time was Constantine the Great, emperor of Christendom, born in England.

35. FINCORMACHUS, (p. 140.)

Son to the brother of the father of Crathilinthus, began his reign in the year of the world 4276; in the year of Christ 304. A godly king and valiant. He was a worthy furtherer of the kingdom of Christ in Scotland. He died in peace in the 47th year of his reign.

36. ROMACHUS, (p. 141.)

Brother's son to Crathilinthus, began to reign in the year of

the world 4323; in the year of Christ 351. A cruel tyrant, slain by his nobles, and his head stricken off, in the 3d year of his reign.

37. ANGUSIANUS, (p. 142.)

Crathilinthus's brother's son, succeeded to Romachus in the year of the world 4326; in the year of Christ 354. A good king, slain in battle by the Picts, in the third year of his reign.

38. FETHELMACHUS, (p. 142.)

Another brother's son of Crathilinthus, he began to reign in the year of the world 4329; in the year of Christ 357. He was a valiant king; for he overcame the Picts, and slew their king. He was betrayed to the Picts by an harper, and slain by them in his own chamber, in the 3d year of his reign.

39. EUGENIUS I. (p. 143.)

Fincormachus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4332; in the year of Christ 360. A valiant, just and good king. He was slain in battle by the Picts and Romans in the 3d year of his reign, and the whole Scots nation was utterly expelled the isle, by the Picts and Romans, and remained in exile about the space of 44 years.

40. FERGUS II. (p. 150.)

Erthus's son's son to Ethodius, Eugenius I. his brother, re-

turning into Scotland, with the help of the Danes and Goths, and his own countrymen, who were gathered to him out of all countries where they were dispersed, conquered his kingdom of Scotland again out of the Romans and Picts' hands. He began his reign in the year of the world 4374; in the year of Christ 404. He was a wise, valiant, and good king. He was slain by the Romans in the 16th year of his reign.

41. EUGENIUS II. (p. 154.)

Son of Fergus II. succeeded to his father in the year of the world 4390; in the year of Christ 420. He was a valiant and a good prince. He subdued the Britons, and died in the 32d year of his reign.

42. DONGARDUS, (p. 161.)

Succeeded to his brother Eugenius II. in the year of the world 4422; in the year of Christ 452. A godly, wise, and valiant prince. He died in the 5th year of his reign.

43. CONSTANTINE I. (p. 162.)

Succeeded to his brother Dongardus, in the year of the world 4427; in the year of Christ 457. A wicked prince. He was slain by a nobleman in the isles, whose daughter he had defiled in the 22d year of his reign.

44. CONGALLUS I. (p. 163.)

Son of Dongardus, began to reign in the year of the world 4449; in the year of Christ 479. A good and quiet prince. He died in peace in the 22d year of his reign.

45. GORANUS, (p. 165.)

Succeeded to his brother Congallus I. in the year of the world 4471; in the year of Christ 501. A good and wise prince. He died in the 34th year of his reign.

46. EUGENIUS III. (p. 172.)

Congallus's son, succeeded to his father and uncle, in the year of the world 4505; in the year of Christ 535. A wise king and a good justiciar. He died in the 23d year of his reign.

47. CONVALLUS II. (p. 172.)

Succeeded to his brother Eugenius III. in the year of the world 4528; in the year of Christ 558. A very good prince. He died in peace in the 11th year of his reign.

48. KINNATELLUS, (p. 172.)

Succeeded to his brother Congallus II. in the year of the world 4539; in the year of Christ 574. A good prince. He died in the first year of his reign.

49. AIDANUS, (p. 173.)

Son of Goranus, the 45th king, began to reign in the year of the world 4540; in the year of Christ 575. A godly and good prince. He died in the 35th year of his reign.

50. KENNETH I. (p. 175.)

Surnamed Keir, Congallus II. his son, began to reign in the year of the world 4575; in the year of Christ 605. A peaceable prince. He died in the first year of his reign.

51. EUGENIUS IV. (p. 175.)

Son of Aidanus, began to reign in the year of the world 4576; in the year of Christ 606. A valiant and a good king. He died in the 16th year of his reign.

52. FERCHARD I. (p. 176.)

Succeeded to his father Eugenius IV. in the year of the world

4592; in the year of Christ 626. A bloody tyrant. He slew himself in the prison, whereinto he was put by the nobles of his realm, in the 12th year of his reign.

53. DONALD IV. (p. 176.)

Succeeded to his brother Ferchard I. in the year of the world 4604; in the year of Christ 638. He was a good and religious king. He was drowned in the water of Tay, while he was fishing, in the 14th year of his reign.

54. FERCHARD II. (p. 177.)

Succeeded to his brother Donald IV. in the year of the world 4618; in the year of Christ 652. A very wicked man. He was bitten by a wolf in hunting; of the which ensued a fever, whereof he died in the 18th year of his reign.

55. MALDUINUS, (p. 178.)

Son to Donald IV. began to reign in the year of the world 4636; in the year of Christ 670. A good prince, strangled by his wife, who suspected him of adultery in the 20th year of his reign. She was therefore burned.

56. EUGENIUS V. (p. 178.)

Malduinus's brother's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4656; in the year of Christ 690. A false prince, slain by the Picts in battle, in the 4th year of his reign.

57. EUGENIUS VI. (p. 179.)

Son to Ferchard II. began to reign in the year of the world 4660; in the year of Christ 694. A good prince. He died in peace in the 10th year of his reign.

58. AMBERKELETHUS, (p. 179.)

Son of Findanus, son of Eugenius V. began to reign in the year of the world 4670; in the year of Christ 704. He was a vicious prince, and was slain by the shot of an arrow, in the 2d year of his reign. The shooter thereof is unknown, as not set out in history.

59. EUGENIUS VII. (p. 180.)

Succeeded to his brother Amberkelethus in the year of the world 4672; in the year of Christ 706. He died in peace in the 17th year of his reign. A good prince.

60. MURDACUS, (p. 180.)

Amberkelethus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4689; in the year of Christ 723. A good prince. He died in the 16th year of his reign.

61. ETFINUS, (p. 180.)

Eugenius VII. his son, began to reign in the year of the world 4705; in the year of Christ 739. He died in peace in the 31st year of his reign.

62. EUGENIUS VIII. (p. 181.)

Murdacus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4736; in the year of Christ 770. A good prince in the beginning of his reign; but thereafter degenerating from his good life, he was slain by his nobles in the 3d year of his reign.

63. FERGUS III. (p. 181.)

Etfinus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4739; in the year of Christ 773. A lecherous prince, poisoned by his wife in the 3d year of his reign.

64. SOLVATHIUS, (p. 181.)

Eugenius VIII. his son, began to reign in the year of the world 4742; in the year of Christ 776. A good prince. He died in peace in the 20th year of his reign.

65. ACHAIUS, (p. 182.)

Etfinus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4762; in the year of Christ 796. A peaceable, good, and godly prince. He made a league with Charles the Great, emperor and king of France, which remaineth inviolably kept to this day. He died in the 32d year of his reign.

66. CONGALLUS II. (p. 184.)

Achaius's father's brother's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4794; in the year of Christ 828. A good prince. He died in the 5th year of his reign.

67. DONGALLUS, (p. 184.)

Solvathius's son, succeeded in the year of the world 4799; in the year of Christ 833. A valiant and good prince. He was drowned, coming over the river Spey, to war against the Picts, in the 7th year of his reign.

68. ALPINUS, (p. 184.)

Achaius's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4806; in the year of Christ 840. A good prince. He was taken in battle, and beheaded by the Picts, in the 3d year of his reign.

69. KENNETH II. (p. 185.)

Surnamed the Great, succeeded to his father Alpinus, in the year of the world 4809; in the year of Christ 843. A good and valiant prince. He utterly overthrew the Picts in divers battles, expelled them out of the land, and joined the kingdom of the Picts to the crown of Scotland. He died in peace in the 20th year of his reign.

70. DONALD V. (p. 191.)

Succeeded to his brother Kenneth II. in the year of the world 4829; in the year of Christ 863. A wicked prince. He slew himself in the 5th year of his reign.

71. CONSTANTINE II. (p. 193.)

Son of Kenneth II. began to reign in the year of the world 4834; in the year of Christ 868. A valiant prince. He was

slain by the Danes in a battle fought at Crail in Fife in the 16th year of his reign.

72. ETHUS, (p. 194.)

Surnamed Alipes, the son of Constantine II. succeeded to his father in the year of the world 4850; in the year of Christ 884. A vicious prince: He was imprisoned by his nobles, where he died in the 2d year of his reign.

73. GREGORY, (p. 195.)

Surnamed the Great, son of Dongallus II. began to reign in the year of the world 4852; in the year of Christ 886. A prince valiant, victorious, and renowned through the world in his time. He died in peace in the 18th year of his reign.

74. DONALD VI. (p. 197.)

Son of Constantine II. began to reign in the year of the world 4870; in the year of Christ 904. A valiant prince: He died in peace, being loved of his subjects in the 11th year of his reign.

75. CONSTANTINE III. (p. 198.)

Son of Ethus, surnamed Alipes, began to reign in the year of the world 4881; in the year of Christ 915. He was a valiant king, yet he prospered not in his wars against England; and

therefore being weary of his life, he became a monk, and died after he had reigned 40 years as king.

76. MALCOLM I. (p. 200.)

Son of Donald VI. began to reign in the year of the world 4921; in the year of Christ 955. A valiant prince, and a good justiciar, or executor of justice: He was slain in Moray, by a conspiracy of his own subjects, in the 9th year of his reign.

77. INDULPHUS, (p. 201.)

Son of Constantine III. began to reign in the year of the world 4930; in the year of Christ 964. A valiant and good prince: He had many battles with the Danes, whom he overcame; but in the end he was slain by them in a stratagem of war, in the 9th year of his reign.

78. DUFFUS, (p. 202.)

The son of Malcolm I. began to reign in the year of the world 4939, in the year of Christ 973. A good prince, and a severe justiciar, or executor of justice: He was slain by one Donald at Forres in Moray, and was buried secretly under the bridge of a river beside Kinloss; but the matter was revealed, and the murderer, and his wife that consented thereto, severely punished: He reigned five years.

79. CULENUS, (p. 204.)

Indulphus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4944; in the year of Christ 978. A vicious and effeminate prince: He was slain at Methven, by Radarus, a nobleman (whose daughter he had defiled) in the 4th year of his reign.

80. KENNETH III. (p. 207.)

Duffus's brother, began to reign in the year of the world 4948; in the year of Christ 982. A valiant and a wise prince; but in the end became cruel, and slew Malcolm his brother's son; and in God's judgment, who suffereth not innocent blood to be unpunished, he was slain, as some say, by a shaft or arrow, shot by a device or sleight, out of an image fixed in a wall at Pettercairn, by the means of a noblewoman there, called Fenella, in the 24th year of his reign.

81. CONSTANTINE IV. (p. 217.)

Surnamed Calvus, Culenus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4964; in the year of Christ 994. An usurper of the crown: He was slain in battle, at the town of Cramond in Lothian, in the 2d year of his reign.

82. GRIMUS, (p. 219.)

Duffus his son, began to reign in the year of the world 4966;

in the year of Christ 996. A vicious prince: He was slain in battle by Malcolm II. his successor, in the 8th year of his reign.

83. MALCOLM II. (p. 221.)

Son of Kenneth III. began to reign in the year of the world 4974; in the year of Christ 1006. A valiant and a wise prince, who made many good laws, of the which a few are yet extant. He was slain by a conspiracy of his nobles at the castle of Glamis, who after the slaughter thinking to escape, were drowned in the water of Forfar: For it being winter, and the water frozen, and covered with snow, the ice brake, and they fell in; in the righteous judgment of God. He reigned thirty years. Some write, that, after a great victory in battle, he did give much of his lands to his nobles, and they agreed that he should therefore have the wardship and custody of their heirs, as long as they were under the age of 21 years, and the profits of all their lands, over and above their charges for education, and the disposing of them in marriage, and the money that should be given for their marriage: And that he first did give unto his nobles sundry and several titles of honour. Which wardships, marriages, times of full age, and reliefs, and manner of liveries of their lands out of the king's hands, do in Scotland, very much agree to the laws of England, as many other parts of their laws do.

84. DUNCAN I. (p. 227.)

Son of Beatrix, daughter of Malcolm II. began to reign in
Vol. II.

the year of the world 5004; in the year of Christ 1034. A good and a modest prince. He was slain by Macbeth, traitorously, in the 6th year of his reign.

85. MACBETH, (p. 232.)

Son of Douada, daughter of Malcolm II. began to reign in the year of the world 5013; in the year of Christ 1043. In the beginning of his reign he behaved himself as a good and just prince, but after, he degenerated into a cruel tyrant. He was slain in battle by his successor Malcolm III. in the 17th year of his reign.

86. MALCOLM III. (p. 235.)

Surnamed Canmore, son of Duncan I. began to reign in the year of the world 5027; in the year of Christ 1057. A very religious and valiant prince. He married Margaret, daughter to Edward, surnamed the Outlaw, son to Edward, surnamed Ironside, king of England, a very good and religious woman, according to those times, who bare unto him six sons and two daughters. The sons were, Edward the prince, Edmond, Ethelred, Edgar, Alexander, and David: The daughters were Mathildis or Maud, surnamed Bona, wife to Henry I. surnamed Beauclerk, king of England, the son of William the Conqueror of England; of her virtues there is extant this old epigram:

*Prospera non letam fecere, nec aspera tristem;
Prospera terror ei, aspera risus erant:*

Non decor effecit fragilem, non sceptrā superbam:

Sola potens humilis, sola pudica decens.

That is,

Prosperity rejoiced her not ; to her grief was no pain ;

Prosperity affrighted her, alas ! affliction was her gain :

Her beauty was no cause of fall, in royal state not proud ;

Humble alone in dignity, in beauty only good.

She founded the church of Carlisle. The other daughter was Mary, wife to Eustathius, earl of Bologne. King Malcolm builded the churches of Durham and Dunfermline: He was slain with his son prince Edward, in the 36th year of his reign, at the besieging of Alnwick, by Robert Moubray, surnamed Piercy, and was buried at Tinmouth; but after he was removed to Dunfermline.

87. DONALD VII. (p. 241.)

Surnamed Bane, usurped the crown after the death of his brother, in the year of the world 5063; in the year of Christ 1093. And was expelled in the first year of his reign by Duncan II. the bastard son of king Malcolm III.

88. DUNCAN II. (p. 242.)

Usurped the crown in the year of the world 5064; in the

year of Christ 1094. A rash and foolish prince. He was slain by Macpendir, the thane or earl of the Mearns, when he had reigned little more than a year, by the means of Donald VII.

Donald VII. made king again in the year of the world 5065; in the year of Christ 1095, and reigned three years. He gave the west and north isles to the king of Norway, for to assist him to the crown of Scotland: He was taken captive by Edgar, his eyes put out, and died miserably in prison.

89. EDGAR, (p. 242.)

The son of Malcolm III. began to reign in the year of the world 5068; in the year of Christ 1098. He builded the priory of Coldingham. He was a good prince. He died at Dundee, without succession, and was buried at Dunfermline, in the 9th year of his reign.

90. ALEXANDER I. (p. 243.)

Surnamed Fierce, succeeded to his brother in the year of the world 5077; in the year of Christ 1107. A very good and valiant prince: He builded the abbacies of Scone and of St. Colm's Inch: He married Sybilla, daughter to William duke of Normandy, &c. He died in peace, without succession, at Stirling, in the 17th year of his reign, and was buried at Dunfermline.

91. DAVID I. (p. 244)

Commonly called St. David, the youngest son of king Malcolm III. succeeded to his brother in the year of the world 5094; in the year of Christ 1124. A good, valiant and religious prince: He builded many abbacies, as Holyrood-house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Dundranan, Cambuskenneth, Kinloss, Melross, Newbottle, Dunfermline, Holm in Cumberland, and two religious places at Newcastle in Northumberland: He erected four bishopricks, Ross, Brechin, Dumblane and Dunkeld: He married Maude, daughter of Woldeofus earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon, and of Juditha, daughter's daughter to William the Conqueror, king of England; by whom he had one son, named Henry, a worthy and good youth; who married Adama, daughter to William earl of Warren, who bare unto him three sons, Malcolm the Maiden, William the Lion, and David earl of Huntingdon; and two daughters, Adama, wife to Florentius earl of Holland, and Margaret, wife to Conan duke of Britain: He died before his father. St. David died in peace at Carlisle, in the 29th year of his reign, and was buried at Dunfermline.

92. MALCOLM IV. (p. 249.)

Surnamed the Maiden (because he would never marry) succeeded to his grandfather David I. in the year of the world 5123; in the year of Christ 1153. A good and meek prince:

He builded the abbey of Couper in Angus, and died at Jedburgh, and was buried at Dunfermline, in the 12th year of his reign.

93. WILLIAM, (p. 254.)

Surnamed the Lion, succeeded to his brother Malcolm IV. in the year of the world 5135; in the year of Christ 1165. A good and a valiant king: He married Emergarda, daughter to the earl of Beaumont: He builded the abbacy of Aberbrothock, and she builded the abbacy of Balmerino. He died at Stirling in the 49th year of his reign, and was buried at Aberbrothock.

94. ALEXANDER II. (p. 259.)

Succeeded to his father William, in the year of the world 5184; in the year of Christ 1214. A good prince: He married Jean, daughter to John king of England, by whom he had no succession. After her death, he married Mary, daughter to Ingelramc, earl of Coucey in France, by whom he had Alexander III. He died at Kernery in the west isles, and was buried at Melross, in the 35th year of his reign.

95. ALEXANDER III. (p. 262.)

Succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 5219; in the year of Christ 1249. A good prince: He married first Margaret, daughter to Henry III. king of England, by whom

he had Alexander the prince, who married the earl of Flanders' daughter, David, and Margaret, who married Hangonanus, or, as some call him, Ericus, son to Magnus IV. king of Norway, who bare to him a daughter, named Margaret, commonly called, The Maiden of Norway, in whom king William's whole posterity failed, and the crown of Scotland returned to the posterity of David earl of Huntingdon, king Malcolm IV. and king William his brother. After his son's death, (for they died before himself without succession) in hope of posterity, he married Ioleta, daughter to the earl of Dreux in France, by whom he had no succession. He built the Cross church of Peebles: He died of a fall from his horse, upon the sands, betwixt Easter and Wester Kinghorn, in the 27th year of his reign, and was buried at Dunfermline.

After the death of Alexander III. which was in the year of the world 5255, in the year of Christ 1285, there were six regents appointed to rule Scotland: For the south side of Forth were appointed Robert the archbishop of Glasgow, John Cumming, and John the Great Steward of Scotland: For the north side of Forth, Macduff earl of Fife, John Cumming earl of Buchan, and William Fraser archbishop of St. Andrews, who ruled the land about the space of seven years, until the controversy was decided betwixt John Baliol and Robert Bruce, grandfather to Robert Bruce the king of Scotland, who did come of the two eldest daughters of David earl of Huntingdon; for Henry Hastings, who married the youngest daughter put not in his suit or claim with the rest, and therefore there is little spoken of him.

96. JOHN BALIOL, (p. 274.)

Was preferred before Robert Bruce to be king of Scotland,

by Edward I. surnamed Longshanks, king of England, who was chosen to be judge of the controversy; which preferment was upon a condition, that John Baliol should acknowledge Edward I. as superior, which condition, like an unworthy man he received. He began his reign in the year of the world 5263; in the year of Christ 1292. He was a vain glorious man, little respecting the weal or commonwealth of his country. He had not reigned fully four years, when he was expelled by the said Edward I. king of England; and leaving Scotland, he departed into the parts of France, where he died long after in exile: And so Scotland was without a king and government the space of nine years; during which space, the said Edward I. surnamed Longshanks, cruelly oppressed the land, destroyed the whole ancient monuments of the kingdom, and shed much innocent blood.

97. ROBERT BRUCE, (p. 285.)

Began to reign in the year of the world 5276; in the year of Christ 1306. A valiant, good and wise king. In the beginning of his reign, he was subject to great misery and affliction, being oppressed by England; but at length, having overcome and vanquished Edward II. king of England commonly called Edward of Cænarven, at the field of Bannockburn, he delivered Scotland from the wars of England, and set it at full liberty, all Englishmen by force being expelled out of the land. He married first Isabel, daughter to the earl of Mar, who bare unto him Marjory, the wife of Walter, the Great Steward of Scotland; from whom, and the offspring of the Stuarts, the king now ruling is descended. After her death, he married

Isabel, daughter to Haymerus de Burc, earl of Hulton or Hulster in Ireland, who bare unto him David II. Margaret, the countess of Sutherland, and Maude, that died young. He died at Cardross, and was buried at Dunfermline, in the 24th year of his reign.

98. DAVID. II. (p. 309.)

Succeeded to his father Robert Bruce, in the year of the world 5300; in the year of Christ 1330. A good prince, subject to much affliction in his youth, being first, after the death of Thomas Randolph his regent, forced to fly into France for his own safeguard, and, then returning home, was taken at the battle of Durham, and was holden 12 years almost captive in England; but after he was restored to his liberty. He married first Jean, daughter to Edward II. king of England; and after her death, he married Margaret Logie, daughter to sir John Logie, knight, and died without succession at Edinburgh, in the 40th year of his reign, and was buried at Holyrood-house.

99. EDWARD BALIOL, (p. 313.)

Son to John Baliol, usurped the crown of Scotland, being assisted by Edward III. king of England, in the year of the world 5302; in the year of Christ 1332. But he was expelled at length by David II. his regent, and David II. established king.

100. ROBERT II. (p. 333.)

Surnamed Blear-eye, the first of the Stuarts, son to Walter Stuart and Marjory Bruce, daughter to king Robert Bruce, succeeded to his uncle in the year of the world 5341; in the year of Christ 1370. A good and a peaceable prince. He married first Eupham, daughter to Hugh earl of Ross, who bare unto him David earl of Strathern, Walter earl of Athol, and Alexander earl of Buchan, lord Badenoch. After her death, for the affection he bare to his children begotten before his first marriage, he married Elizabeth Mure, daughter to sir Adam Mure, knight, who had born unto him John, after called Robert III. earl of Carrick, Robert earl of Fife and Monteth, and Eupham, wife to James earl of Douglas. He died at Dundonald the 19th year of his reign, and was buried at Scoon.

101. ROBERT III. (p. 352.)

Surnamed John Farnezier, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 5360; in the year of Christ 1390. A quiet and a peaceable prince: He married Anabel Drummond, daughter to the laird of Stobhall, who bare unto him David the prince, duke of Rothesay, that died in prison of very extreme famine at Falkland, and James I. taken captive in his voyage to France, and detained a captive almost eighteen years in England. He died of grief and sorrow at Rothesay, when he

heard of the death of the one son, and captivity of the other, and was buried at Paisley, in the 16th year of his reign.

Robert earl of Fife and Monteith governed Scotland in the year of the world 5376; in the year of Christ 1406: He died in the 14th year of his government, James I. being a captive in England.

Murdoch Stuart succeeded to his father Robert earl of Fife, in the government of Scotland, in the year of the world 5390; in the year of Christ 1420, and ruled four years, James I. being yet a captive in England. Both the father and the son Walter were executed after, for oppression of the subjects, by king James I.

102. JAMES I. (p. 370.)

Began to reign in the year of the world 5394; in the year of Christ 1423. He was a good, learned, virtuous and just prince: He married Jean, daughter to John duke of Somerset, and marquis Dorset, son to John of Ghent, son to Edward III. the victorious king of England; who bare unto him James II. and six daughters, Margaret, wife to Lewis XI. the dauphin, after king of France, Elizabeth, duchess of Britain, Jean, countess of Huntly, Eleanor, duchess of Austria, Mary, wife to the L. of Campvere, and Anabella. He was slain at Perth traitorously by Walter earl of Athol, and Robert Graham, and their

confederates, in the 31st year of his reign, if we count from the death of his father; and in the 13th year, if we count from his deliverance out of England; and was buried at the charter-house of Perth, which he built.

103. JAMES II. (p. 3. vol. II.)

Succeeded to his father in the year of the world 5407; in the year of Christ 1437. A prince subject to great troubles in his youth: He married Mary, daughter to Arnold, duke of Gueldre, daughter to the sister of Charles, surnamed Audax, the last duke of Burgundy, &c. who bare unto him three sons, James III. John earl of Mar, Alexander duke of Albany, and Mary, wife first to Thomas Boyd earl of Arran; and, after his beheading, to James Hamilton of Cadzou. He was slain at the siege of Roxburgh, in the 24th year of his reign.

104. JAMES III. (p. 46. vol. II.)

Succeeded to his father in the year of the world 5430; in the year of Christ 1460. A prince corrupted by wicked courtiers. He married Margaret, daughter to Christianus I. surnamed Dives, King of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. He was slain at the field of Bannockburn, in the 29th year of his reign, and was buried at Cambuskenneth.

105. JAMES IV. (p. 92. vol. II.)

Succeeded to his father in the year of the world 5459; in

the year of Christ 1489. A noble and courageous prince. He married Margaret, eldest daughter to Henry earl of Richmond, king of England, and of Elizabeth, daughter to Edward IV. king of England, in whose two persons the two houses of Lancaster and York were united, and the bloody civil wars of England pacified. He was slain at Flowden by the English, in the 25th year of his reign.

106. JAMES V. (p. 121. vol. II.)

Succeeded to his father in the year of the world 5484; in the year of Christ 1514. A just prince and severe. He married Magdalane, daughter to Francis I. king of France, who died shortly thereafter without succession. After he married Mary of Lorraine, Duchess of Longeville, daughter to Claud, duke of Guise, who bare to him two sons, that died in his lifetime, and one daughter named Mary, mother to king James VI. He died at Falkland, in the 29th year of his reign. He was buried at Holyrood-house.

107. MARY, (p. 290. vol. II.)

Succeeded to her father James V. in the year of the world 5513; in the year of Christ 1544. A virtuous princess. She married first Francis II. dauphin, afterwards king of France. Then, after his death, returning home into Scotland, she married Henry Stewart, duke of Albany, &c. lord Darnly, son to Matthew earl of Lennox (a comely prince, Pronepnoy's son, the daughter's daughter of Henry VII. king of England) to whom she did bear James VI. She was put to death in England the 8th of February, after eighteen years captivity.

108. JAMES VI. (p. 336, vol. II.)

A good, godly, and learned prince, succeeded to his mother, in the year of the world 5537; in the year of Christ 1567. He married Anna, daughter to Frederick II. king of Denmark; and Sophia, daughter of Ulricus, duke of Mecklenburg, who bare unto him Henry Frederick the prince, February 19th 1593, and Elizabeth, August 19th 1599, and Charles, duke of Albany, November 19th 1600. And, upon the death of queen Elizabeth, he succeeded to the crown of England, and was crowned king at Westminster, July 25th. 1604. He had also by his wife queen Anne two other daughters born in England, lady Mary, and lady Sophia, who both died young. Prince Henry died November 6th 1612. Lady Elizabeth was married to Frederick V. of that name, count Palatine of the Rhine, afterwards elected king of Bohemia, by whom she had many children. King James died at his palace at Theobalds in England, March 27th 1625, when he had reigned 22 years over Great Britain and Ireland, and was buried with great solemnity at Westminster.

Mira cano : Soi occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.



AN

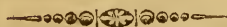
ALPHABETICAL TABLE

OF THE

PRINCIPAL MATTERS

CONTAINED IN THE

SECOND VOLUME OF THIS HISTORY.



A

	Page		Page
A DAM Huntly taken prisoner by the earl of Murray	284	brother to James III. taken by the English	59
Adrian the pope's legate in England	88	But soon released	ibid.
Agnes Keith, daughter of the earl of March, married to James earl of Murray	275	Committed prisoner to Edinburgh castle	75
Alan of Lorn keeps his brother prisoner	60	Whence he craftily made his escape	ib.
He is imprisoned himself	ibid.	He coming to the king of England, solicits him to take arms,	
Alexander, duke of Albany,			80
		He is recalled by the Scots, and hath the chief government bestowed upon him	82

	Page		Page
He restores his brother James to the free possession of the king- dom	82	Sides with the queen	ibid.
And falls again into disgrace, and dies in France	86	Goes for England, is reconciled to the regent and returns	129
Alexander the son of Alexan- der of Albany	ibid.	He raises an insurrection	ib.
Alexander Boyd abuses and wounds John Kennedy	62	His goods confiscated, he is tak- en and beheaded	ib.
He is tried for his life	67	Alexander Hume, as a proxy, takes the coronation-oath for James VI. yet a child	336
Beheaded	ibid.	He is general of the king's army	345
Alex. Campbell, a Dominican, the notoriety of his end	150	Wounded	346
Alex. Cunningham slain (with K. James III.) in his army	89	Revolts to the queen's party	371
Alex. Cunningham brings aid to the Reformers	237	His castle taken and rifled by the English	384
Being taken prisoner, he takes him prisoner, whose captive he was before	435	He is chief in the council of the rebels	414
Alexander Elphinston slain in fight	119	Taken prisoner, but by the com- ing in of his friends released	ibid.
Alex. Forbes marries Græcina Boyd	97	Alex. Haliburton wounded and dies	250
Alexander Forbes taken by A- dam Gordon	438	Alexander Livingston made su- preme governor, or regent	3
Alexander, earl of Crawford, deserts Douglas and submits to the king	38	He puts the queen in prison	9
Alexander, earl of Glencairn, banished	288	Disagrees with Creighton the chancellor	4
A general in the king's army	345	The king taken out of his hand	10
Alex. Gordon beats the earl of Crawford	36	Reconciled to the chancellor	12, 13
Alex. Hume marches into Eng- land	112	Lays down his office	19
He brings his squadron off safe from Flowden-field	119	Is brought to his trial, and re- manded to prison,	22
His great authority	123	Alexander, the son of William Livingston, taken prisoner	396
Accused by Hepburn	128	Alex. Lindsay overcomes Alex. Ogilvie	20
		Alex. Ramsay's cheerful for-	

	Page		Page
wardness in surprising Dum-		popish king	288
barton castle	396	He is wounded in a fight	346
Alex. Seton sent to Berwick	376	Annas Montmorency suspects	
Having no hopes of relief, he		the power of the Guises in	
surrenders up the town to the		France, not without cause	228
English	380	Anti-assemblies in Scotland, two	427
Alexander Stuart, archbishop of		Anthony Darcy slain by David	
St. Andrews, slain at Flowden		Hume	132
fight	122	Apparition to king James IV.	
Alnwick castle taken	24	dissuading him from a war	
Amiens, the bishop thereof in		with England	113
Scotland, his cruelty	258	Archibald Douglas his great	
Andrews, a great astrologer	74	power	3
Andrew Briton, or Breton, his		His affronting answer to the	
story	110	chancellor	7
Slain by Thomas Howard, the		His death	16
English admiral	111	Archibald Douglas his oration	
Andrew Ker escapes out of pri-		to the nobles against the king's	
son	131	evil counsellors	77
He disagrees with Douglas	133	With the effects thereof	79
Andrew Ker revenges his fa-		Archibald Douglas his speech to	
ther's death	110	king James IV. dissuading	
Andrew Ker beaten by the duke		him to fight the English	116
of Norfolk	227	He marries the widow of James	
Andrew Forman sent into Eng-		IV.	122
land and France by James		Accused by Hepburn	129
IV.	103	Takes Edinburgh, but resigns	
He hath a great many church-		up the government thereof	133
preferments	123	Flies into England	129
He is accused by Hepburn	128	Returns from France and Eng-	
Mediates for peace	130	land into Scotland	142
Andrew, earl of Rothes, banish-		Opposed by his wife	ib.
ed	287	Chosen one of the governors of	
Andrew Wood faithful to king		the king and kingdom	143
James III.	92	Overthrows Lennox	243
Admiral of the Scots navy	ib.	Forbid to meddle with the go-	
Reconciled to James IV.	93	vernment	151
Overcomes the English in one		Outlawed and banished	ib.
sea-fight	ibid.	Returns after fifteen years exile	
And also in a second	94		175
Andrew Stuart chancellor	66		
His freedom of speech against a			
Vol. II.	N n n		

	Page		Page
Coming to compose controversies, he is detained by Hamilton	183	Bishops chosen heretofore by their canons	64
His memorable speech and fact	190	Bishop of Dumblane sent into France to excuse the queen's marriage with Bothwell	319
He persuades the regent to break with the cardinal, and to side with the nobles	ib.	He is disappointed in his embassy	333
He beats the English	191	Bishop of Dunkeld commended	135
Archbishop of St. Andrews (with the bishop of Aberdeen) imprisoned	141	Bishop of St. Davids sent by the English king to the Scots	162
Archbishop of St. Andrews executed as accessory to the king and regent's murders	398	Bishop of the Orcades prefers court favour before truth,	318
Argyle, earl, joins with the reformers	238	Black money what	80
Arrogance the usual companion of power	65	Blackness betrayed to the Hamiltons	421
Arthur the son of Henry VIII. of England, marries Katharine, the infant of Spain	106	Boys creep into favour at court	5
Arthur Forbes slain	ib.	Their faction against the Kennedys	6
Assassination of king Henry odious to all nations	309	They carry the king to Edinburgh, and strengthen themselves by getting the king's pardon	63
Assassins of king Henry labour to impute the parricide to Murray and Morton	ib.	Their greatness occasions their ruin	64
Astrological predictions, courtiers much addicted to them	71, 73	Brigid's, or Bride's church burnt	60
Authority, got by good arts, is lost by bad	330	Bull's head put upon a man's, heretofore a sign of death in Scotland	16

B

Beatrix, leaving her husband James Douglas, asks pardon of the king	40
She marries John earl of Athol, the king's natural brother	41

C

Calen Campbell, with two others, chosen governor of the king and kingdom	142
He is sent against the Douglasses	153
Crail purged from monuments of idolatry	240
Cecily, Edward of England's	

daughter, promised in marriage to the son of James III.	Page 76	Count of Rothes committed to prison	Page 196
The intended marriage nulled, and the dowry repaid	ib.	Crawfurd (earl of it) takes part with the Douglasses	20
Charles of Burgundy slain at Nantz	72	But afterwards deserts them	28
He lays the foundation of tyranny in his country	90	And is received into favour by the king	ib.
Charles V. sends to Scotland, to join in affinity with them	73	Creichton sent ambassador into France	23
Why his mother was committed to perpetual imprisonment	214	Crock, the French ambassador, dislikes the queen's marriage with Bothwell	319
Charles Guise cardinal, guarantee for the kingdom of Scotland	220	He mediates a peace	330
Childeric, a Saxon commander, wounded	194	Cunninghams overcome by the Hamiltons	176
Christ's birth day profaned	194	Cup of St. Magnus. See Magnus.	
Christiern of Denmark, with all his male-stock, cast out of the kingdom	404		
Cochrane, one of king James III's evil counsellors, put to death	79		
Commonalty affect innovations	52		
Competitors for the regency	417		
Constance, the decree of its council seasonable for perjured persons	178		
Convention of the nobles to chuse a regent after Murray's death	377		
Cornish rise against Henry VII. of England	11		
The council of Constance deny faith to be kept with those they call heretics	178		

D

David Beton, the cardinal	164
Chosen regent by a pretended will, but, the fraud being discovered, he is displaced and imprisoned	175
He endeavours to avert the imminent ruin of popery	177
He deceives Lennox with vain hopes of marrying the queen	183
He grieves to be deprived of a rich morsel, which he had swallowed in his hopes	184
He is sharply reproved by Montgomery	195
His cruelty against protestants	198
He espouses his daughter to the earl of Crawfurd's son	201
He is slain in his castle, with the manner thereof	204
His foul character	201
David Douglas, with his bro-	

	Page		Page
ther William, beheaded	16	slain by the queen of England	45
David Hamilton, defends the cause of the gospel	198	Dunbar fortified by Alexander against the king, but deserted by him	74
David Panater, or Painter, bi- shop of Ross, made an abbot by the king of France	218	Again possessed by him, and delivered to the English	82
David Rizzio, a musician, his story	286	Retaken by the Scots	84
He persuades the queen to cut off the Scottish nobility	293	Dumbarton twice surprised	20
His court preferments, famili- arity with the queen of Scots, violent death and burial	294 to 298	Taken by the queen	278
David Spence slain	416	Retaken by the regent by sur- prise, and the manner how	395
David Straiton, or Straton, burnt for a Lutheran	161	Its situation, and why so called	394
Denmark, the king thereof bar- gains with the ambassador of Scotland, to quit his right to the islands about Scotland	63	The people of Dundee, ene- mies to the Gordons	421
Dessy general of the French forces in Scotland	211	E	
Called home by the king of France	215	Edinburgh, how seated	409
Donald, lord of the Æbudæ, is left by his wife	40	A convention held at the one end, while the enemy held the castle at the other	ib.
Sends agents to make his peace with the king	41	The citizens of Edinburgh would not admit the English exiles, nor Hamilton, to enter their city	383
After the king's death he plays Rex again	60	Edward, duke of York, calls himself king of England	47
He takes the earl of Athol pri- soner, and burns St. Bride's church	ib.	Edward IV. of England makes peace with the Scots	82
He is shipwrecked, and falls di- stracted	ib.	He dies	84
Drury intercedes for peace be- tween the parties in Scotland	411	He laid the foundation of tyran- ny	90
Dougal Stuart, a prodigy of him and others	310	Edward VI. of England an hop- ful prince, his death	220
Duke of York overthrown, and		Education at court, what	277
		Elbeuff, marquis of it, stays with the queen in Scotland	267
		Elizabeth, queen of England, sends aid to the reformers of religion in Scotland	254
		Her grave oration to the ambas-	

	Page		Page
sador of the queen of Scots	270, 271	Ask aid of the Scots against their own king	42
She, in part, adopts the cause of the queen of Scots	348	English, their horses frightened in Scotland	137
Her letters to the regent to defer the convention of the estates	ib.	Make war on Scotland	157
Her other letters to him, which break off the course of his victories	349	Enter Scotland again	191
She is informed by the regent, that the cause of their queen's deposing, was the murder of her husband	353	Are worsted	194
She sends letters to the nobles of Scotland, to receive their queen again	368	Again enter	205
Their answer to her letters	370, 371	And gave the regent a great overthrow	208
Howard's conspiracy against her detected	ib.	Enter Scotland again	210
She demands the English fugitives to be given up to her by the Scots	388	And prevail against James Douglas	ib.
She is made arbiter betwixt the parties in Scotland	391	English fleet attempt the Orcaades	230
Some of her council would have king James sent into England	408	Send aid to the reformers in Scotland	251
Which the Scots refuse to do	414	Assist the vindication of king and regent's murderers, against the queen's faction	388
She favours the king's cause most, yet is (politically) slow in her aid	421	Their queen Elizabeth designed to be destroyed, and the king of Scots too	414
Ambassadors from France desire the Scots to make war upon England	225		
Enemies, their sudden liberality to be suspected	140		
English worsted in Scotland	41		
Overthrown by the Scots	27		

F

Faith not to be kept with heretics, as papists say	179
Famine and pestilence in Scotland	37
Fifteen judges appointed in Scotland, but soon disused	157
Flattery, the pest of great families	9
Francis I. king of France, by the help of the king of England, restored to liberty out of the hands of the Spaniards	160
He sends the earl of Lennox into Scotland	179

	Page		Page
Is alienated from Lennox	185	strengthen the regent	244
Sends Montgomery into Scotland	202	French ambassador's demands from the reformed	245
Francis II. of France sends l'Abros into Scotland	245	French their contumelious pride against some of the Scots	ibid.
He is influenced by, and is under the power of the Guises	261	Their design to establish tyranny	258
His death	ibid.	French ambassador, busy between the queen and the royalists	342
Francis, duke of Guise, curator of the kingdom of Scotland	220	Upon the queen's overthrow, he sculks away	346
Appointed general of the popish faction	287	French leave Scotland by consent	260
Franciscans, or begging friars, their wealth	236	French ship sent with provision and ammunition into Scotland taken by the royalists	413
France, its miserable state	261	Friars mendicants, mercenaries to parish-priests and curates	420
Its king, Francis, promises to aid the Scots of the queen's faction	383	Their opinions, and why Manducants, rather than Mendicants	238
And the Scots rebels	413		
Upon what grounds he did it	ib.		
Fraser's family almost extinct	192		
Friendship with princes far off, sometimes safer than with those nearer home	140		
French and Scots soldiers mutiny	214		
Their auxiliaries in Scotland cannot forbear their wonted plundering	253		
Their soldiers kill the governor of Edinburgh, with some of the citizens	214		
They design to surprise Had-dington	ibid.		
Are disgusted by the Scots	215		
French and English in Scotland agree	216		
French transported into their own country	ibid.		
French king sends auxiliaries to			

G

Galeacius Sforza slain by his uncle	357
Gavin Dunbar, the king's tutor, made chancellor	150
Gavin Douglas called archbishop of St. Andrews	122
Committed to prison	276
George Buchanan imprisoned for religion, escapes out of his chamber-window whilst his keepers were asleep	166
He is sent in embassy, with others, into England	349
George, brother to the earl of Douglas, made earl of Ormond	24
Commands the forces against	

	Page		Page
England	25	His pious and Christian deportment before, and at his martyrdom	198, &c.
Extolled for his victory over them	26	Giles, tutelary god of Edinburgh, his shew affronted	232
Declared a public enemy	36	Gilbert Kennedy slain by the command of James Douglas	152
Beheaded	39	A man of great spirit	ibid.
George Douglas, earl of Angus	19	Gilbert Kennedy's constancy in keeping his word	179
His memorable facts	49	Gilbert Kennedy earl of Cassils, sent ambassador to France	229
He is against the queen mother	50	He dies there, not without the suspicion of poison	230
His bold and unworthy speech to the king	146	Gilbert, his son, chosen judge in Bothwel's case, but excuses himself	314
George Douglass, the regent's youngest brother	343	Gilespy Campbell, an actor in the reformation	239
Delivers the queen out of prison	344	Recalled by threatening letters, by the queen regent	240
George Gordon sent with an army against England	169	Gilespy earl of Argyle, banished	290
The king's hatred against him	170	His levity	343
Accused and imprisoned	222	Privy to the queen's wickedness	246
Released	ibid.	General of her army	345
Studies to raise commotions	275	Refuses to own himself a subject to the king	318
Privy to the conspiracy against Murray	280	The regent receives him into favour, and he is in great authority	361
Condemned for treason	285	The bishop of Glasgow frightened by a voice from heaven	23
Restored by the queen to his former dignity	287	Gordons at feud with the Forbeses	418
Chief of the queen's faction	331	Gordon an enemy to Murray	275
George Lesly E. of Rothes, sent ambassador into France	228	He labours to destroy him	277
There poisoned, as it was believed	230		
George Ruthven slain	417		
George Wishart preacher of the gospel	196		
Persecuted by cardinal Beton, against the regent's mind	198		
Fortels the death of cardinal Beton	200		

	Page		Page
His design against him, at one time wonderfully prevented	280	bility, and advances upstarts	42
Gordon's bold attempt against the queen herself	281	A conspiracy against him by the nobles of England	ib.
Gray hath the chief command in Scotland against the French	257	He is taken by the duke of York, and brought to London	47
Groom in a stable his bold attempt on James Hamilton, in revenge of his master's death	148, 149	He flies into Scotland	48
For which he is put to death	ib.	Joins battle with Edward IV. and is overcome	49
Guises, their desire to hasten the marriage of Mary with the dauphin	229	Returns privately to England, and is taken	50
Their over-great power suspected	ib.	Henry VII. succeeds Richard III. who was slain in battle	86
They design Scotland as a peculiar for their family	262	He denounces war against France	108
They seek to destroy James earl of Murray, as an enemy to popery	277	Desires to make a perpetual league with the Scots	87
Guns, <i>i. e.</i> great ordnance of iron, when first used in Scotland	44	Marries his daughter Margaret to James IV.	107
		War denounced against him by James, as he was besieging Tournay	113
		His magnanimous and kingly answer to the heralds	114
		Henry VIII. desired the exiled Douglasses may be restored	156
		By the French ambassador he desires peace with the Scots	159
H		He sends controversial books of divinity to James V.	162
Haddington deserted by the English	216	Complains the Scots had violated the law of nations, wars upon them, takes Leith, and burns Edinburgh	184
Hamilton leaves the party of the Douglasses	39	His forces are worsted	192
Hamiltons willing to free the queen out of prison	341	His general persuades the Scots to peace	206
Overthrown in battle, and some of them taken prisoners	347	Gives the Scots a great overthrow	210
They meet at Edinburgh in behalf of queen Mary	381		
Hengist, captain of the pirates, hath lands given to him in Britain, by Vortigern	184		
Henry VI. undervalues the no-			

	Page		Page
Henry of France sends some German foot into Scotland	211	the queen's chapel	272
He displaces the regent by subtilty	219	Made earl of Mar, and afterwards of Murray	274
Henry Stuart comes out of England into Scotland	285	James Balfour, governor of Edinburgh castle for the queen	328
Made duke of Rothesay, and earl of Ross, by the queen of Scots	289	He raises insurrections	354
At which many of the nobles are disgusted	290	James Cullen taken and executed for his crimes	225
He marries the queen	ibid.	James, surnamed Crassus, the Douglasses being dead, succeeds to the right of the earldom	16
Strangely disrespected at the baptism of his own son	304	He dies	ibid.
He withdraws from court	ib.	James Douglas made earl, when William Douglas his father, was slain	34
Is poisoned, but overcomes it by the strength of his youth	304, 305	He accuses the king and nobles of perfidiousness	35
A design to destroy him	307	Proclaimed a public enemy	36
Is actually murdered	309	Marries Beatrix, his brother's widow	ibid.
Heralds slain against the law of arms	292	Persuaded to a reconciliation with the king, which he refuses	ibid.
Hepburn (John) insinuates himself into the new regent	182	Being forsaken by his friends, he applies to England for aid	38
Herris hanged by James Douglas	32	And to Donald the islander	39
Hugh Kennedy, his courageous answer	147	Forsaken by his wife	40
Hume castle surrendered to the English	385	James Douglas, earl of Morton, and Alex. Hume, take the coronation oath for king James VI. in his minority	337
Huntly overthrown by James earl of Murray, taken and pardoned	20	He provides for the commonwealth at his private charge	338

I

James, earl of Arran, son to James, returning from France, sides with the reformers	245	Commands the king's army against the queen	340
Goes to his sister Mary the queen	264	Goes into England with the regent	351
Hardly persuaded to allow the admission of the mass in Vol. II.		Sent ambassador into England	391

	Page		Page
His chearfulness to encounter the enemy	412	chosen judge against the Lutherans	168
Taken prisoner, and then takes him prisoner whose captive he was before	416	He is tried, condemned and executed	169
James Haliburton taken prisoner	414	James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, committed to prison	277
James Hamilton, earl of Arran, admiral of a navy under king James IV.	109	But escapes	280
He plunders Knockfergus in Ireland	ibid.	Banished	165
At last sails for France	110	A rival to the earl of Lennox	181
Is chosen regent	176	Called out of France by the queen	287
Opposes Archibald Douglas after his return from France	140	Divorced from his former wife	318
Highly disgusted by king James V.	108	Procures a schedule from the nobility about his marriage with the queen	316
Compelled to change his opinion concerning the controverted points of religion	181	Surprises and marries the queen	318
His shameful flight, vanity, and inconstancy	188	Outlawed	288
Remiss in the case of George Wishart	217	Accused of the king's murder	313
Corrupted by avarice	ibid.	His mock trial	314
Made duke of Chattelherault	220	Wounded by an highway pad	302
Put from his regency	221	Designs to destroy Murray	311
James Hamilton returns from France	356	His challenge answered	315
Endeavours to engage queen Elizabeth of England, to make him regent	ibid.	He flies	332
But without success	ibid.	And dies distracted in Denmark	341
He submits to the regent	362	James Kennedy, archbishop, an adversary to the Douglasses	19
James Hamilton, son of the archbishop of St. Andrews his sister, treacherously shoots Murray, and kills him	278	Retires from a corrupt court	23
James Hamilton, a bastard, brother to the earl of Arran,		Disallows the faction of the queen-mother	50
		His oration, that women ought not to govern	43, 44, &c.
		His praise, death and character	61

	Page		Page
James Kennedy builds a large ship	74	James Sunderland sent against the thieves	157
James Livingston put to death by the Douglas faction	22	Carries propositions from the reformers to the queen regent	233
James Londin, a prodigy of him	310	James Stuart marries Joan the widow of James I.	9
James Macgil sent, with others, ambassador into England	351	Is banished	22
James Mackintosh unjustly put to death	275	James Stuart the queen's brother, puts the English to a retreat	ibid.
James, earl of Murray, appointed vicegerent	158	Hath threatening letters sent him by the queen	241
Settles the borders	154	An actor in reforming religion	ibid.
Sent into France	162	Made earl of Mar and Murray	74
James, earl of Murray, refuses to associate with the queen and Bothwell	326	Jews imitated by the Romaniots	49
But chuses rather to leave the land	ibid.	Iffert, or Iffert isle	50
He returns from travel and is made regent	336	<i>Ignis Fatuus</i> , what	395
His resolute speech	342	Images demolished at B. . .	256
He meets the queen of England's ambassador at York	351	Impostors, notorious ones	153
Waylaid by his enemies in his journey	ibid.	Joan Douglas, a fine woman, unjustly put to death	166
Goes to London	354	John, son of Alexander, brother to James III. duke of Albany declared regent when in France	124
Where he manages the accusation against the queen	355	He arrives in Scotland	126
Whence honourably dismissed, and his transactions there approved in Scotland	361	Gets the queen-mother into his power	129
Is deserted by his friends	376	Goes into France, appointing governors in his absence	133
Too careless of himself	377	Returns to Scotland	141
Killed by one of the Hamil ons	379	Raises an army against England, but makes a truce	136
His laudable character	ibid.	Goes again into France, whence he returns with a great navy	135
James Murray offers to encounter Bothwell, hand to hand	314		
James Sunderland, ambassador from Scotland to France	262		

	Page		Page
Marches into England, and as-		well treated by the regent	
saults Werk castle	142		397
Goes the third time into France,		John Fleming of Bogal, taken	
and his power is vacated in		there	ib.
his absence	143	John Herris, undeservedly put	
John Erskine sent ambassador		to death by the Douglasses	
into France	162		32
Of the queen's faction	209	John Hepburn, powerful and	
Made governor of Edinburgh		factionous	125
castle	222	His feud with the Humes	127
Sent ambassador into France		He insinuates himself into John	
	229	the regent	ib.
John, brother to king James III.		Accuses Douglas, Hume, and	
put to death	75	Forman	128
John Erskine favors the refor-		John Hamilton, archbishop of	
mation	234	St. Andrews	207
Afraid of the queen regent		A debauched man	216
	239	John Hamilton, troubled in	
Beats the rebels out of Stirling		conscience for the king's mur-	
	416	der, discovers his accomplices	
Chosen regent	417		398
Straitens Edinburgh	420	John Kennedy made one of the	
John Armstrong, a captain of		king's guardians or tutors	
thieves executed	155		59
John earl of Athol, marries Bea-		John Knox preaches to reclaim	
trix Douglas	316	those that killed cardinal Be-	
He and his wife taken prisoners		ton	203
by Donald	60	His sermon to the people of	
John Cockburn of Ormiston		Perth, for the reformation	
wounded and taken by Both-			237
well	249	Upon which they destroy popish	
John, earl of Douglas's bro-		shrines	ib.
ther made baron of Balvany		His encouraging sermons to the	
	24	reformers at Stirling	252
Proclaimed a public enemy	35	His sermon at king James VI.	
John Damiot, a conjurer, fore-		his inauguration	336
tels David Rizio's death	298	John II. lays the foundation of	
John Forbes condemned and		tyranny in Portugal	90
beheaded	166	John Lesly privy to the conspi-	
John Fleming, the queen's go-		racv against James earl of	
vernor of Dumbarton castle,		Murray	280
when it was surprised	396	John MacArthur, captain of To-	
He escapes, but his wife is		ries, executed	410

	Page
John Melvil put to death	216
John, earl of Mar, brother to James III. put to death, by opening a vein till he expired	75
John Muderach taken	224
John Monluc, bishop of Valence in Scotland	257
John Maxwell of Herries, revolts from the reformers	287
Made prisoner by the regent, but released without public authority	383
John, earl of Mar, a commander in the king's army	346
John Scot, his wonderful abstinence from food, and miracles	155, &c.
John Ramsay preserved by the king	79
Proves an evil counsellor to James III.	86
John Stuart, earl of Lennox, revolts from the regent	130
But is again received into favour	131
He endeavours to take the king from the Douglasses, and is slain	147
John Stuart, earl of Athol, sent against John Muderach	223
John Windram secretly favours the cause of true religion	198
Joan Douglas and her husband, their miserable ends	165
Joan, the wife of James I. her manly fact	21
Put in prison with her husband	ib.
Her death	ib.
Julian Romer taken	216

	Page
Junius Brutus	40

K

Katharine Medicis, after her son's death undertakes the government	264
Kingly government what	400
Its origin	ib.
Kings, their wives anciently not called queens	54
They are inferior to the laws	401
Kings, if young, their favours slippery	64
King desired to be revenged on his nobles, endeavours to set them one against another	84

L

L'Abros a French general, would have all the nobility of Scotland destroyed	259
Lamont the French king's ambassador in Scotland	113
He moves the Scots to a war against England	ib. &c.
Langside fight	345
Laodice (queen) her cruelty to her own children	358
Laws about hunting, their authors. See hunting laws	
Laws in Scotland, few, besides the decrees of the estates	157
Legate, a counterfeit Roman one	33
Lent observed on a politic account only	285
Leon Strozzy, admiral of the French gallies in Scotland, to revenge the cardinal's death	204

	Page		Page
Lewis XI. lays the foundation of tyranny	90	But returns	132
Lewis de Galais, ambassador from France to the queen's party	283	Displeased with her husband	ib.
Lindsays and Ogilvies fight	19	Persuades the Scots to break with the French	139
The Lindsays prevail	ib.	But opposed therein by the French faction	140
Lutherans persecuted	156	Martigues, the earl of it comes into Scotland, with his character	259
	166	Mary, wife of James II. her manly spirit	44
M		Mary of Guise, widow of the duke of Longueville, marries James V.	166
Maclane, executed by Douglas	32	By degrees she dispossesseth the regent	220
See Man.		Takes upon her the ensigns of government	ib.
Magistrates, have power over men's bodies, but not over their consciences	236	Imposes new taxes	224
Main, an English commander against the Scots, slain in fight	26	Changes ancient affability into arrogance	26
Malcolm Fleming executed by the Douglasses	16	Persecutes the reformed, and is perfidious	240
Margaret Creichton, who	84	Makes a truce with the reformed	243
Margaret queen of England delivers her husband Edward by force of arms	49	The administration of the government taken from her by proclamation	249
She flies into Scotland, and thence into France	50	She dies in the castle of Edinburgh	257
Margaret sister to Edward of England, wife to Charles of Burgundy, endeavours to raise commotions in England	97	Her disposition and character	258
Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. marries James IV.	106	Mary, queen of Scots born	173
The first female regent in Scotland	122	Begins her reign	ibid.
After her husband's death, she marries Archibald Douglas	ib.	Henry of England desires her for his son's wife	176
She flies with her husband into England	128	She is sent into France	212
		From whence that king sends letters, desiring her a wife for his son	227
		Ambassadors sent thither for that purpose, of which some	

	Page		Page
die there	228	Hamilton designs her deliver-	
She marries the dauphin	234	ance	342
When Mary of England died,		She escapes	343
she carries herself as the next		Is overthrown by the nobles,	
heir, and assumed the royal		and flies for England	347
arms of that kingdom	ibid.	She endeavours by Balfour to	
When her husband died, she re-		raise tumults in Scotland	
solves to return into Scotland			352
	263	Designs to marry Howard of	
Her subtle answer to a cunning		England	360
cardinal	265	Continued in the Lord Scroop's	
She lays the foundation of ty-		house	367
ranny	275	Her faction garrison Edinburgh,	
Designs a guard for her body		from whence they sally out	
	276	against Morton	410
Her unbecoming familiarity		Massacre designed in France by	
with David Rizio	286	the Guises	262
She marries Henry Stuart	290	Matthew Stewart earl of Len-	
She punishes David's homicides		nox marries Margaret Ham-	
	298	ilton	97
Her strange proclamation about		Sent for out of France into	
Rizio's death	300	Scotland	179
She brings forth James VI.		Returns	180
	ibid.	Circumvented by the cardinal's	
She is willing by all means to be		cunning, about his marrying	
rid of her husband	298	the queen	182
A jocular process against her		Upon which he rises in arms,	
husband's murderers	311	but he is forced to agree with	
She marries Bothwell	317	the regent	183
The French ambassador, and		He justifies himself to the	
the Scottish nobles, dislike		French king	184
her marriage	319	Is worsted, and flies into Eng-	
She frames an association against		land, where he is kindly re-	
the nobles	325	ceived and marries Margaret	
And they another against her		Douglas	187
	326	Created regent	389
Earl of Murray leaves Scotland		Takes Brechin from Huntly	
in discontent	ibid.		390
Besieged with Bothwell at		Hurt by a fall	392
Borthwick, and escapes in		Mendicant friars called Mandu-	
man's apparel	327	cant	237
Surrenders herself prisoner	312	Mercenary soldiers change with	
Proved guilty of her husband's		fortune	350
death by letters	333		

	Page		Page
Michael Weems helps the royalists	411	the courtiers	ibid.
Monks, their monasteries overthrown by order of the lords	264	He labours to maintain church privileges	64
Monster, like an hermaphrodite, born in Scotland	95	Is excommunicated, and forced to resign his bishopric	66, 67
Morton's large account of his negociation in England to the regent	399 to 407	And dies in prison	ibid.
Mother, cruel to her own children	359	Patrick Gray one of those who slew king James III.	90
Mourning garments, when first used in Scotland	176	Patrick Gray committed to custody	194
		Patrick Blackater, flies from the Douglasses	144
		He is treacherously slain by John Hume	145
N		Patrick Hamilton put to death for religion, by the conspiracy of the priests	151
Norman Lesly, his valour against the English	191	Patrick Lindsay sides with the reformers	234
He surprises St. Andrews, and kills cardinal Beton	202, 203	Goes with the regent into England	350
		Patrick Ruthven's magnanimity	297
O		He kills David Rizio	298
Oration of archbishop Kennedy, that the administration of the chief government, is not to be committed to queen-mothers	52 to 59	He acquaints Murray with the conspiracy against him	290
Orkney, the bishop thereof, marries the queen to Bothwell	318	Paul Mefane or Meffen, preacher of the gospel, troubled for religion	230
D'Oysel a Frenchman, desirous of glory	227	Harboured by the inhabitants of Dundee	231
Differs with the Scots nobles, but afterwards yields to them	ibid.	Paul Terms sent with aid from France to Scotland	216
		Peace-downs. See Dunipacis.	
P		Peace confirmed with an intended affinity, betwixt Scots and English	76
Patrick Graham chosen bishop of St. Andrews by his canons, in the room of James Kennedy	63	But soon broken	ibid.
Made primate of Scotland by the pope, but obstructed by		Mediated for by the Scottish nobility	80
		Made between French and English	216

	Page		Page
Between the reformers and the court	260	Prophecies of witches, how fulfilled	256
Peter Mauaset a robber, executed	126	Punishments, too exquisite, enrage spectators	353
Peter Hiale, the king of Spain's ambassador in England	103		
His errand to solicit a match between Katherine of Spain, and Arthur, Henry's son	ib.	Q	
He mediates a peace between Scots and English	104	Quadrantary faith, what	233
Perkin Warbeck a notable impostor	97	Quindecemvirate in Scotland	157
Set up by the dutchess of Burgundy to vex Henry	ibid.	Queens anciently, kings wives not allowed to be so called	54
Sails out of England into Scotland	98	Queen, mother of James III. sues for the regency, with her reasons	49
Engages James IV. against Henry	100	The Scots not willing to be governed by her	ibid.
Marries Katherine, the earl of Huntly's daughter	101	Queen dowager sails into France	217
Dismissed out of Scotland	104	Where she labours to out the regent of his government	218
Taken and hanged in England	ibid.	Hath the regency conferred upon her	219
Priests, impostors	154, 155	The first female regent in Scotland	ibid.
Priests so ignorant, as to think the New Testament was written by Martin Luther	193	Levies new taxes	223
A priest treacherous	20	But because of an insurrection, desists from collecting them	224
One betrays queen Joan	21	Refuses the proposition sent her by the reformed	246
Another forges a will	136	Prepares forces against them	238
Princes not slaves to their words	233	Makes a temporary agreement with them	239
Prodigies on divers occasions	309	Which she endeavours to elude	ibid.
Process, ridiculous against the king's murderers	271	Makes another truce with them	243
Proclamation, about the same	ibid.	Repantees betwixt her and the reformed	246, 247, 248
Proclamation, or schedule, of James II. drawn in contempt about the streets	35	Her death and character	257
		Queen of Scots, not to use the	

	Page		Page
English arms, during queen Elizabeth's life	273	Reformed congregation in Scotland, the first so called	232
Queen of Scots, one of their deaths	86	Reformers abrogate the queen regent's power	247
Queen's party divide from the king's	384	They meet with difficulties in their work	248
They send ambassadors to France and England for aid	383	Are assisted by the English	253
Queen Elizabeth rejects them	ibid.	Regent slain at Stirling	382
Question debated, whether a chief magistrate may be compelled by force to do his duty	271	Religion, the nobles arm for it in Scotland	238
		Rhingrave sent with aid by the French king into Scotland	211
R		Richard duke of York, brings king Edward prisoner to London	46
		Slain by the queen	ibid.
Ralph Evers his vain boast	189	Richard Colvil put to death by Douglas	27
Ralph Sadler, ambassador from England about the marriage of Mary with king Henry's son	177	Robert Cochrane, of a tradesman made a courtier	73
He hears the Scots differences, and endeavours to compose them	275	Taken by Douglas, and committed to prison	78, 79
Rebels, after Murray the regent was dead, had several meetings	384	Robert Cunningham, of the family of the Lennoxes, opposes Bothwel	313
They send ambassadors to the queen of England, to desire a truce, but in vain	383	Robert Graham a great enemy to king James	391
They solicit the French and Spaniards for aid	391	Conspires against him	ibid.
Assault Leith	414	Seizes him with his own hands for which he is executed	397
Surprise Stirling, but beaten out again	417	Robert earl of the Orcades, made one of the king's guardians	59
Attempt Jedburgh, but repulsed and routed	420, 421	Robert Pitcairn sent ambassador into England	385
Recognition, what	108	Queen Elizabeth's answer to his embassy	388
Reformed religion, the nobles swear to maintain it in behalf of James VI. whilst a child	353	Robert Reid sent ambassador into France	162
		Poisoned there	230

	Page
Robert Semple kills Creichton	216
Rose, white, badge of the York faction	98
Roxburgh town taken	43
Its castle taken	44
Royalists overthrown in the north	416
Ruthven had the mayoralty of Perth taken from him by the cardinal	196

S

Scots nobles anciently had skill in surgery	96, 97
Scottish parliament demolishes all monasteries	263
Scottish crown ordered to be sent to the dauphin of France	235
Skirmish between the English and French in Scotland	255
Sorbonists sent into Scotland	246
Stephen Bull overthrown by Andrew Wood	95, 96
The administration of the government, to whom to be committed, when the king is a minor	356, 357
Sussex, the earl of it commands an English army in Scotland	386

T

A taylor, his bold speech	318
Theodosius, his memorable speech	400
Thomas Boyd marries the eldest sister of James III.	65
He is sent ambassador into Norway	66
Declared a public enemy	68

	Page
He dies at Antwerp	69
Thomas Ker wastes England	380
Thomas Ducht, or Doughty, an impostor	155
Thomas Howard, admiral of the English navy	111
General at Flowden fight	117
Afterwards falls into disgrace	121
The conspiracy detected	380
Thomas Pitcairn sent ambassador to queen Elizabeth	384
Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador in Scotland, demands the English exiles	420
Thomas Wolsey, a cardinal, self-ended and ambitious	139

Thornton, Patrick, put to death for murder	40
Tantallon castle besieged by the king, and surrendered	151, 152
Trajan's remarkable speech	401
Triobolar faith, what	139
Truce between Scots and English for seven years	84
Truce between the queen regent and the reformers, and on what terms	243

V

Valerius Asiaticus, his bold speech	311
Vidam in France, who	260

W

Wallace slain in fight by the English	27
Walter Mills martyred for religion	231
Warwick, earl overthrown by	

	Page		Page
the queen of England	46	Scotland	318
Werk castle described	141	William Grahame the king's guardian	59
William Creighton chancellor	3	William Hume beheaded	291
Deceived by the queen, and her son, the king taken from him	6	William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, laments the state of Scotland	124
He guides the king after he had taken him in a wood, to his party	10	William Keith taken prisoner by the English	232
His death	40	William Kirkaldy of Grange, admiral of the navy against Bothwell	331
William Cecil a prudent counsellor in England	257	William Livingston goes into France with the queen	230
Sent ambassador into Scotland	ib.	William Maitland an ingenious young man	251
William Creighton slain	216	Sent into England to desire aid	349
William Creighton outlawed, with his crimes	83	Sent into England to compliment queen Elizabeth on Mary's account	267
William Douglas succeeds Archibald his father	9	Persuades her to declare Mary her heiress	ib.
Beheaded	15	Which she refuses to do	269
William Douglas, the son of James the Gross, marries Beatrix his uncle's daughter	16	He favours the queen's affairs	377
Submits to the king	17	Is factious and perfidious	ib.
Goes to Rome	28	Studies innovations	ib.
Returns, and declared regent	30	He is taken and released	373
Comes to court on safe conduct	33	William Rogers an English musician, one of James III's evil counsellors	74
At last slain by the king's own hand	34	William Sivez his story	71
William Douglas desires leave to revenge the death of his brother the earl of Murray	379	William Stuart bishop of Aberdeen, sent ambassador into France	256
William Drury an English knight secretly favours the rebels	386	Womans isle. See Nuns isle	
William, bishop of Dumblane, sent into France to excuse the queen's hasty marriage in		Women, whether the supreme government ought to be committed to them	56

F I N I S.







